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Faculty of Environmental and Life Sciences

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Homelessness and Resilience in East Asia: Punitive Policies, Poverty Management, and Hope in Taiwan's Welfare State

by

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Abstract

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Homelessness is a complex problem in cities and is shaped by local factors, including economic inequality, punitive policies, poverty management, and individual everyday practices. In East Asia, the local factors in relation to homelessness usually develop within the context of developmental welfare states possessing neoliberal characteristics (e.g., a shadow state and a precarity of care provision) and Confucian characteristics (e.g., a blood-degree relationship and collective familial welfare duty under legislation). Taiwan encompasses both these strands and, therefore, provides a compelling case for understanding homelessness in the East Asian context. Drawing on the complex relationships within homelessness in Taiwan, I conducted 55 semi-structured interviews (i.e., with a policymaker, 21 managers, and 33 homeless support workers), complemented by participant observation to answer three research questions: How has the blend of neoliberalism and Confucianism in cities in Taiwan shaped homeless policies and poverty management? How are homeless services provided by Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector, and what punitive and supportive characteristics do they exhibit? How do the relational and spatial dynamics of community-based homeless support in Taiwan shape the variety of homeless service workers' motivations and hope for persevering in supporting homeless people? I demonstrate the empirical evidence I gathered to provide answers and make valuable contributions to the literature on the geographies of homelessness and related homeless studies. Firstly, the developmental welfare state blends neoliberalism with Confucianism. It shapes the resilience of homeless people and homeless support workers, involving Confucian merits as the main factor in residual arrangements instead of Keynesian considerations. Secondly, homeless services in Taiwan are employment-led instead of housing-led. Employment-led services possess an essential punitive characteristic and a peculiar accommodating characteristic. Finally, the various motivations to become homeless support workers in Taiwan are driven by secular motives, such as empathising with homeless people and practising social justice. Meanwhile, the motivations are intertwined with various feelings of hopefulness and hopelessness. For example, the promise of improving homeless services and reworking social policies is interwoven with the hopefulness of persisting in providing precarious care and moving to burnout.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

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I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

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Definitions and Abbreviations

BOT ..... Build-Operate-Transfer (contract)

GBP ..... Great Britain Pound

iFLYTEK..... Automated transcription software

LINE..... Social media app

TWD..... New Taiwan Dollar

UN..... United Nations

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Homelessness in East Asia

Homelessness is an urgent global challenge, with a roughly 1.6 billion homeless population in the world living in public spaces or inadequate housing and needing to be supported (United Nations, 2020a). However, homelessness is a complex social problem in countries and is shaped by local contexts and includes various definitions of homelessness (UN-Habitat, 2000; United Nations, 2020b). In the Western context, homelessness refers to individuals experiencing rooflessness or living in temporary accommodation or insecure housing (Johnsen & Teixeira, 2010; Wilson & Loft, 2021). In comparison, homelessness in East Asia, except for Japan, refers to people constantly wandering on the streets as 'wanderers' (He et al., 2020; Huang, 2019; Song, 2011). Definitions of homelessness influence the priority of homeless support. In the Western context, homeless support seems to be housing-led, to provide adequate housing as quickly as possible (Anderson et al., 2016; Baker & Evans, 2016), whereas homeless support in East Asia differs. The existing East Asian literature demonstrates that employment-led homeless support (e.g., job training and employment in the informal economy) can often be used by East Asian states (e.g., Taiwan, South Korea, and China) (Huang, 2019; Song, 2008, 2011; Yang et al., 2023), which may relate to East Asian welfare states under the developmentalism ethos, such as state-led economic development and market-led welfare provision (Goodman et al., 1998; Park et al., 2012).

The welfare state refers to how the relationship between the state, the market, and the voluntary sector (e.g., community groups and non-profit organisations) shapes not only the characteristics of welfare services and their provision but also the ways of providing them in local contexts (Cloke et al., 2010; Esping-Andersen, 1990). In the Global North, the welfare states significantly shape the characteristics of homelessness (Dear & Wolch, 1987; DeVerteuil, 2015; May & Cloke, 2014). Western literature on the relationship between the welfare state and homelessness refers to social and economic inequalities under roll-back and roll-out neoliberalism as the crucial factors in shaping homelessness in the Western welfare states (Brenner et al., 2010; DeVerteuil, 2015; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Homelessness in many Western welfare states has been shaped by the time-space dynamics involving the welfare budgets of retrenchment, the downloading of welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector, and the popularity of privatised and commercialised welfare provision since the late 1970s. This trend has been conceptualised as *roll-out and roll-back neoliberalism* to characterise the roll-out of the privatisation of the welfare services of health and social care, on the one hand, and the roll-

back from the Keynesian welfare expansion of collective welfare provision and consumption on the other (Peck & Tickell, 2002; Power & Skinner, 2019). In contrast, it is not clear how relevant roll-out and roll-back neoliberalism is to shaping homelessness in East Asian welfare states, given that Keynesian welfare states in the West (from the late 1940s to the late 1970s) barely exist in the East Asian welfare states as part of the Global North, such as Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore. Instead, East Asian welfare states have been involved in the continuation of developmentalism since the post-war period as the local factor in shaping the housing crisis and welfare services (Park et al., 2012). However, there is little existing literature demonstrating how the characteristics of homelessness and homeless services provision are influenced by the continuation of developmentalism in the East Asian welfare states.

In the continuation of developmentalism, welfare provision in East Asia is shaped by the philosophy of Confucius (551-479 BCE) (Goodman et al., 1998; Park et al., 2012; Walker & Wong, 2005). In the Confucian philosophy, children are responsible for their parents' welfare needs, and parents assist their children in meeting theirs, which is conceptualised as filial piety as '孝' (Ikels, 2004). In this kinship, other family members usually help children and parents to fulfil this familial welfare responsibility, including grandchildren, grandparents, children's spouses, and parents' siblings (Walker & Wong, 2005). In this situation, the East Asian state supports families in meeting their welfare responsibilities instead of playing the leading role in welfare provision (Park et al., 2012). This phenomenon existed before World War II in East Asia and continued after. Between the late 1940s and the 1970s, Keynesian welfare states only occurred in the West, and not in East Asia (Goodman et al., 1998; Park et al., 2012; Walker & Wong, 2005). For example, Japan became a welfare state earlier than other East Asian countries in the late 1950s, with universal pensions and health insurance implemented between 1959 and 1961 (Tanaka, 2019. The welfare state in Japan is considered to be liberal and conservative, instead of socially democratic and Keynesian, with limited government involvement and a vital role for the private sector and families in meeting welfare demands (Esping-Andersen, 1990); Esping-Andersen (1990) barely mentions significant cultural factors of the Confucian philosophy in shaping the welfare state in Japan and the rest of the East Asian welfare states (Goodman et al., 1998; Park et al., 2012; Walker & Wong, 2005).

East Asian homelessness differs from the Western context. The empirical findings will justify this, as demonstrated later. Based on the findings shown in later chapters, I claim the crucial factor in shaping East Asian homelessness is the alternative ideology of Confucianism coupled with neoliberalism to influence urban governance for managing poverty, welfare services provision to homeless people, and the process of gentrification. The original findings primarily help conceptualise the framework based on social and cultural geography (Baker et al., 2020; Dear & Wolch, 1987; DeVerteuil, 2015; Power et al., 2019) and partly assist in conceptualising

the framework based on the Global East model (Shin et al., 2016) which the model draws on comparatively examination on global gentrifications shaped by neoliberalism, which I will explain below.

1.1.1 Knowledge Gaps in Relation to Homelessness, Confucianism, and East Asian Welfare States

The Confucian philosophy is coupled with neoliberalism, involving the privatisation of welfare provision and individual responsibility for meeting welfare needs through market mechanisms, to shape the welfare states and urban poverty in East Asia (Chang, 2022; Hill et al., 2012; Walker & Wong, 2005; Whittaker et al., 2010). Existing literature conceptualises this phenomenon as a variety of the second modernity in East Asia (Beck, 2016; Beck & Grande, 2010; Chang, 2014). Researchers coined the term 'individualisation without individualism' to describe the interplay between Confucian philosophy, coupled with neoliberalism and welfare provision in East Asia (Beck, 2016; Chang, 2014). However, there is little existing literature that demonstrates how the Confucian philosophy, coupled with neoliberalism, shapes homeless policies, causing the latter to be punitive in the East Asian welfare states. In addition, there is a lack of evidence of the cultural factors of Confucian philosophy that interacted with neoliberalism, meaning that neoliberalism in East Asia was never completed. It is also the case that there is little existing literature demonstrating how Confucian philosophy influences East Asia's voluntary sector and the state to provide punitive homeless services to marginalised groups, whilst the punitive homeless services are attached to some supportive characteristics in local contexts. Furthermore, there is a lack of evidence exploring the perspectives of East Asia's voluntary sector and the state regarding the relationship between homeless services and Confucianism, coupled with neoliberalism in local contexts. Moreover, there is little existing literature demonstrating why the voluntary sector continues its homeless support in the East Asian landscape of homelessness, involving as it does the interplay between Confucian and neoliberal discourses as well as homeless support workers' feelings of hopefulness and hopelessness.

In short, Confucianism and neoliberalism are the two significantly influential ideologies that shape East Asian landscapes of homelessness, including Taiwan. Based on my research findings shown in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, Confucianism and neoliberalism influence Taiwan's landscape of homelessness, involving the multiple-level dynamics of social policies and configuration of Taiwan's welfare state (on the macro-scale), the cause of homelessness and the provision of homeless services by agencies (on the meso), and actors' everyday experiences of homeless people on homelessness or of homeless support workers about homeless services provision (on the micro). To effectively understand how Confucianism and neoliberalism shape

Taiwan's landscape of homelessness, it is essential to comprehend the ethos of Confucianism, the meaning of neoliberalism, and the fusion of these two ideologies in Taiwan, as I will explain below.

Confucianism is a significant ideology in East Asia, encompassing both secular and ideological aspects, particularly in the realms of national governance and care ethics (Goodman et al., 1998; Park et al., 2012; Walker & Wong, 2005). Confucius declared himself agnostic, stating that "subjects the Master [Confucius] did not discuss strange occurrences, feats of strength, rebellion, and the gods." (Confucius, 2007: 50). In this context, Confucianism is usually considered a humanistic philosophy instead of a set of religious tenets (Lu, 2009; Taylor & Arbuckle, 1995). 'Familial harmony' (家庭和諧) is the core value of Confucianism (Ikels, 2004; Macfarlane, 2020). For example, children must be self-responsible to avoid causing their parents unpleasant feelings, which is one of the primary Confucian ethics in East Asia, emphasising the importance of children obeying for the sake of familial harmony (Hashimoto & Ikels, 2005; Ikels, 2004). Confucius said, "Your father and mother should have to worry only about your falling ill." (Confucius, 2007:29). Another example of familial harmony in a Confucian society is that children must sincerely meet their parents' welfare demands when they are alive, and memorialise their parents when they die (Ikels, 2004); as Confucius said, 'While they are alive, serve them according to ritual. When they die, bury them according to ritual, and sacrifice to them in accord with ritual.' (Confucius, 2007: 29). These are the primary moral principles of 'filial piety' (孝) in Confucian societies, including Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and China (Ikels, 2004; Park et al., 2012). However, Confucius barely mentions parents' ethics and obligations in achieving familial harmony, even though he indicates that parents must show kindness to their offspring as Cih (慈) (Chen, 2006). Based on my research findings, filial piety might be considered contested when some parents take it for granted and even abuse their children and spouses, as homeless people in Taiwan have experienced (see Chapters 4 and 5).

It is worth explaining the structure of a Confucian society in order to pursue or achieve familial harmony. A Confucian society is based on a clear social status hierarchy, and individuals of different social statuses have specific obligations to uphold for the sake of familial harmony and social order (Goodman et al., 1998; Ikels, 2004). As Confucius said, 'Let the ruler be a ruler; the subject, a subject; the father, a father; the son, a son.' (Confucius, 2007:91). In comparison, the hierarchical structure of Confucian society differs from the caste system in India, as the latter is based on fixed classes determined by birth (Macfarlane, 2020; Van der Veer, 2009). Again, the structure of Confucian society is based on social status, which allows social mobility through social reproduction (e.g., giving birth and becoming parents) and the movement of groups by effort (i.e., becoming scholars or bureaucrats to increase income and move to the upper class)

(Macfarlane, 2020). Regarding familial harmony in Confucian society, filial piety may be applied beyond the family (e.g., between leaders and followers), which relates to the aforementioned interpretation of societal structure provided by Confucius, who did not establish an absolute boundary between the subordination of sons to fathers and subjects to rulers (Kim, 2014; Taylor & Arbuckle, 1995). Indeed, Confucian notions of social hierarchy can be applied in the family, the workplace, and society, such as the contested superiority of parents, employers, and the elderly (Bell, 2008; Ong, 1999; Walker & Wong, 2005). Hence, the concept of "家天下" - "family as a model for government" - is commonly employed in Confucian societies to promote family and social harmony (Bell, 2008). I mention this because the state-led economic development in East Asia was related to the Confucian idea that a country's leader is responsible for achieving social harmony as a familial one, which is one of the cultural factors that East Asian 'developmental' states developed in the state-led economic project, caused rapid industrialisation (Park et al., 2012; White & Goodman, 2006).

On the other hand, this Confucian idea makes the persuasion of collective well-being in East Asian utopia fundamentally different from the socialist one, which is commonly believed in the Western world (i.e., improving social and economic inequalities for permanent social justice) (Anderson, 2006a; Harvey, 2000). The East Asian utopia is based on Confucious statements of 大同 as 'the Great Unity' that individuals must achieve family harmony as the first phase, and then the surplus of 'family love' will be given to other individuals who cannot meet family harmony (e.g., parentless, childless, spouseless people) to achieve permanent peace in society (Confucius, 2014). I mention this because actors in Taiwan's homelessness landscape (i.e., homeless people and homeless support workers) are influenced by this Confucian idea, as supported by research findings (see Chapter 6).

Moreover, based on my research findings, homeless support workers in Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector employ a combination of Confucian ideas, such as collective well-being (e.g., filial piety and familial harmony), and neoliberal notions of individual autonomy and self-sufficiency to provide homeless services. This peculiar phenomenon means that workers pursue contradictory homeless service provisions, which motivates them to continue providing services. There is a lack of evidence to examine the ambiguous motivations of homeless support workers and the outcomes of homeless services in Taiwan. For example, there is limited literature that shows how homeless support workers in Taiwan's voluntary sector cope with the downloaded welfare responsibility (i.e., little governmental funding for homeless services when the government is in a supportive position for welfare provision) to provide community-based services that help homeless people become self-sufficient. In addition, there is a lack of literature which demonstrates how the service workers reconcile the contradictory ideas of Confucian (i.e., collective family harmony in the hierarchical Confucian society) and

neoliberal care ethics (i.e., individual autonomy and self-sufficiency in a society without a clear social hierarchy) in Taiwan and the rest of East Asia.

On the other hand, some literature on political economy has shown that neoliberalism is coupled with local factors in East Asia (Harvey, 2020; Park et al., 2012; Peck & Theodore, 2019), in which neoliberalism means capitalist economic production through market mechanisms, downloaded welfare responsibility underpinned by individual autonomy and self-sufficiency for welfare needs in the market (Park et al., 2012). However, austerity policies on welfare expenditures seem to not happen in many East Asian welfare states, such as Taiwan, Japan, Singapore, and South Korea, which differs from the Western contexts in which many Western welfare states have moved into the era of austerity (e.g., welfare budget cuts and the dismantlement of state-led welfare systems) (Power & Hall, 2018). This East Asian phenomenon of the (partial) similarity of the neoliberal welfare states is understudied in urban studies and the geographies of the voluntary sector and homelessness. It is crucial, and I will explore later why neoliberalism is incomplete in East Asia and how to alleviate urban poverty in East Asia (see Chapters 4 and 6). Additionally, the East Asian phenomenon is understudied in urban studies of 'the Global East,' which hinders our understanding of global gentrifications in East Asia, as will be demonstrated later. In this research, the alternative ideology of Confucianism, fused with neoliberalism, is the primary focus of exploring the complexities of Taiwan's homelessness landscape.

The alternative ideology of Confucianism fused with neoliberalism possibly influences urban governance for homeless people in the process of gentrification. Based on my findings demonstrated in later chapters (see Chapters 4 and 5), the alternative ideology in Taipei influences the way of managing homeless people in local partnerships between the state and the voluntary sector, such as supporting homeless people to meet their needs through mutual familial support as the primary approach and the care ethics based on Confucianism, on the one hand, and asking their family to meet the needs mainly in the market with little government support echoes the neoliberal discourse of downloaded welfare responsibility and self-sufficiency, on the other. In this context, gentrification and the urban governance of homeless people are influenced by an alternative ideology, contributing to the Global East model (Shin et al., 2016). The Global East model refers to the homogeneous space of East Asian gentrification and urban poverty, deliberately emphasising the differences compared with beyond (e.g., Western Europe, North America, and the Global South).

Shin et al. (2016) draw on 'state-led' gentrification as one of their key arguments in the Global East framework to distinguish the Western contexts of gentrification led by the market. However, Shin et al. (2016) barely mention Confucianism's ideological influences on the state.

Confucian ideology is enormously influential in East Asia, encouraging citizens to prioritise collective well-being rather than individual well-being. Moreover, they barely mention how the voluntary sector helps people in poverty cope with gentrification in East Asia, such as providing emergency aid after eviction and assisting in the search for affordable housing. Yet, the voluntary sector and poor people are also possibly influenced by Confucianism to develop survival strategies, such as the variety of welfare provisions driven by the Confucian care ethics of mutual family support mentioned above. Hence, my findings help frame the Global East model by giving empirical evidence on the complex relationships between the state and the voluntary sector for providing homeless services in Taiwan, which will be explained below. The Significance of Understanding Homelessness in Taiwan.

1.1.2 The Significance of Understanding Homelessness in Taiwan

The existing literature on the geographies of homelessness barely shows the cultural factors that shape the East Asian landscapes of homelessness (DeVerteuil et al., 2022; Toshio et al., 2023). The emerging literature on the geographies of homelessness in East Asia draws on how homelessness landscapes are shaped by political (e.g., social policies and the privatisation of welfare provision) and economic (e.g., homeless grants under the neoliberal discourse of workfare and housing crises) factors (DeVerteuil et al., 2022; Toshio et al., 2023). However, the literature barely mentions the cultural factors of Confucian philosophy, which include the familial welfare responsibility for collective family members' well-being and the state's supporting position in providing welfare services mentioned above. In addition, there is a lack of evidence of having examined the relationship between homeless policies and services and Confucianism, coupled with neoliberalism in East Asian landscapes of homelessness. This examination is significant because Confucianism and neoliberalism possibly shape the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless policies and services in East Asia. In addition, the residual arrangements for resilience in cities (DeVerteuil, 2015). In East Asia, the residual arrangements possibly include Confucian philosophy as a merit beyond the Western experience of Keynesian welfare states. Moreover, when adversity and hope are embedded in the voluntary sector to influence actors' behaviours involving persisting in the provision of welfare services to marginalised group (Power et al., 2019). In the East Asian context, it is possible that Confucian philosophy is a significant local factor shaping adversity and hope in the East Asian voluntary sector's actors, driving them to continue providing welfare services in the East Asian landscape of homelessness.

Neoliberalism is a theory of political and economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by maximising entrepreneurial freedoms, such as an institutional framework characterised by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets,

and free trade (Harvey, 2005). In addition, Neoliberalism is the mode of creative destruction that has spawned an extensive oppositional culture within itself, aiming to restore ruling-class power (Harvey, 2007). For example, the mode eschews appeals to universals as fatally flawed and abandons humanistic rights as an untenable imposition of 'abstract' ideals. Indeed, it underpins neoliberal discourses on market-based ethics as a mask for restoring class power (Harvey, 2005, 2007).

Harvey (2005) has mentioned that neoliberalism is shaped by local contexts in East Asia, such as neoliberalism with 'Chinese characteristics'. For example, he explains that in China, the neoliberal mode of creative destruction supports juridical and abstract labour subjects in the theories of capitalism (i.e., bearing individual legal rights) and is fused with the traditional Maoist notion. The Maoist notion encompasses the contradictory abstraction of harmonious relationships among workers, the intelligentsia, and the national bourgeoisie for the collective interest. Further, Harvey (2005) explains workers' interests so that they can make moral claims for state protection, which the state, the ruling class, can do to reinforce its leadership. However, Harvey barely explains what traditional Chinese culture is that shaped Maoism, how it fuses with neoliberalism, and its similarities and differences.

Much Chinese literature refers to the aforementioned contradictory abstraction of harmonious relationships, echoing the traditional culture of the Confucian hierarchical system (Dull & Schwartz, 1952; Fouts & Chan, 1995; McDonald, 2011), which Confucius has defined as the social hierarchy: 'Let the ruler be a ruler, the subject be a subject, a father be a father, a son be a son' (i.e., 君君臣臣子子) (Confucius, 2007). In this cultural context, East Asian neoliberalism has 'Confucian' characteristics. Many Confucian and collective ideas oppose neoliberal and individualistic notions. However, some Confucian ideas are similar to neoliberalism as the factors in the fusion, such as the Confucian idea of family-led welfare services and the neoliberal one of downloaded welfare responsibility (albeit to families, not individuals) (Park et al., 2012). I have demonstrated some interpretations of Confucianism and examined its similarities and differences with neoliberalism. I will later elaborate on the relationships between Confucianism and neoliberalism in the context of homelessness in Taiwan (see Section 3 in Chapter 2).

Understanding the abstractive totality of circulation and neoliberalism is a practical approach to examining how neoliberalism, coupled with local factors, develops the local mode of creative destruction (Harvey, 2018). There is a growing interest in exploring how neoliberalism in East Asian countries has emerged with local factors echoing Confucian philosophy to inform understanding of family-based economic production (Peck & Zhang, 2013) and welfare provision (Park et al., 2012). My research helps to disentangle the discursive factors involved in

conducting welfare reforms and reshaping care ethics in East Asian states. It also assists in navigating the complexities of homelessness, such as why East Asia states and voluntary sectors have ambivalent attitudes toward neoliberalism with local characteristics. In addition, it unpacks how the voluntary sector provides homeless services locally, when the voluntary sector perceives that it gives 'supportive' services to help homeless people.

The third reason is that the maintenance legislation for homeless services influences Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector (Huang, 2021a; Li, 2016; Pan, 2009). This legislation can increase the voluntary sector's tension with the state in Taiwan for homeless provision when the state provides little homeless support, underpinned by the state's rhetoric that families are responsible for helping their homeless members instead of the state, under the maintenance legislation. However, the maintenance legislation in Taiwan may confuse the voluntary sector into continuously paying a lot of attention to job training and homeless employment services, which is associated with the possible scenario that the voluntary sector in Taiwan may not fully understand the importance of prioritising temporary and long-term accommodation services for homeless people as an 'innovative idea from the West'. Last, the capital city of Taiwan (Taipei) is one of the global cities identified by Sassen (2005) but remains understudied in respect of exploring how the voluntary sector conducts homeless support in inner-city areas. Based on these three merits, I developed three overarching research questions, as follows:

- How has the blend of neoliberalism and Confucianism in Taiwan shaped the complex relations between social policies and homeless services for homeless people?
- How are homeless services provided by Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector, and what punitive and supportive characteristics do they exhibit?
- How do the relational and spatial dynamics of community-based homeless support in Taiwan shape the variety of homeless service workers' motivations and hope for persevering in supporting homeless people?

As mentioned above, I draw on some of the ideas from the Global East model to develop my conceptual framework, which is based on social and cultural geography. On the one hand, I use the geographical concept of contact zones (Askins & Pain, 2011; DeVerteuil et al., 2020) to examine the complexities of internal spaces of Taiwan's voluntary sector, involving the co-production of homeless services between homeless care providers and recipients influenced by the fusion of Confucian and neoliberal notions. On the other hand, I also explore the negotiations between communities and homeless agencies (e.g., public and voluntary drop-in centres) for more accommodating homeless services and the possibility of community cohesion in the inner-cities areas of Taipei. My research explores social exclusion in communities of homeless people in Taipei's inner-city areas. It contributes to understanding

where communities are located. It also contributes to the motivations of public-sector agencies, such as social workers, to remove homeless people from local communities. My findings show that many public-sector social workers are reluctant to remove homeless people from communities when they work in precarity (i.e., overloaded workloads to serve multiple marginalised groups, including homeless people), so they are unable to provide supportive homeless services to their care recipients (see Chapter 5). The findings nuance the understanding of post-revanchist city (DeVerteuil, 2013, 2019) in the East Asian context.

Alongside this, I employ another geographical concept of 'service hubs' (Dear et al., 1994; Evans et al., 2019), which helps explore the locations of clusters of voluntary organisations providing homeless services in Taipei and how they negotiate with the state and community residents for more accommodating services for homeless people (see Chapter 5). I will further unpack the concepts of contact zones and service hubs in Section 2.4. My research findings will demonstrate the Taiwanese characteristics of the homelessness landscape, involving the spatial dynamics of the voluntary sector's homeless advocacy and the community residents' ambivalent attitude towards homeless people, in which the community residents sometimes inform the police to remove them while also providing food aid or giving donations to help them through public and voluntary drop-in centres (see Chapters 5 and 6). The findings provide a better understanding of *service hubs* in the inner-city areas of Taipei and contribute to existing studies on the relational geographies of the voluntary sector (DeVerteuil et al., 2020; May & Cloke, 2014) in which civil society can negotiate with actors and agencies who dislike homeless people in civil society itself and the state. The findings on Taiwan's landscape of homelessness will show that the civil society in Taiwan has the capacity and potential to improve the provision of homeless services and alleviate urban poverty. It is related to the new democratic regime, which has seen an increase in government expenditure on welfare services since the regime was transformed from an autocracy in 1991, which will be explained in the later sections of Chapter 2.

1.2 Theoretical Framework, Research Focuses, and Contributions

This research seeks to build on the literature on social geographies of homelessness as the theoretical framework, including *the shadow state* (Jones & Royles, 2020; Wolch, 1990), *revanchism* (Hennigan & Speer, 2019; Smith, 1996), *poverty management* (May & Cloke, 2014; Wolch & DeVerteuil, 2003), and *resilience* (DeVerteuil, 2015; Evans et al., 2019). Also, this research seeks to use the lens of homeless support workers' lived experiences and (hopeful) adaptive capacities further to explore the East Asian landscape of homelessness in Taiwan, which helps frame the concept of *hopeful adaptation* (Power et al., 2019) in East Asia.

Regarding the framework of social geographies of homelessness, I assess the relevance of the four fundamental concepts in this framework for the abovementioned exploration. The first concept is *the shadow state* (Jones & Royles, 2020; Wolch, 1990), referring to the parasitic relationship between the state and the voluntary sector under neoliberalism, in which the state encourages the voluntary sector to shoulder the responsibility for welfare provision but does not provide sufficient financial support and keeps reducing welfare budgets. In this situation, the voluntary sector is forced to provide community-based welfare services through market mechanisms (DeVerteuil et al., 2020; Power et al., 2021). The literature conceptualises this relationship between the state and the voluntary sector under neoliberalism in the Western context, which helps delve into the differences in Taiwan, where the state has demanded that the voluntary sector shoulder the welfare responsibility since 1945 under developmentalism, involving welfare services influenced by neoliberalism and Confucianism. The second is *revanchism* (Hennigan & Speer, 2019; Smith, 1996), referring to the political climates in Western cities in which the state co-opts the wealthy classes and private sector investors in perpetuating the stigma against homeless people and employs neoliberal discourses for developing and implementing punitive social policies to punish those who are homeless. Urban studies have conceptualised this phenomenon in Western cities (Cloke et al., 2010; DeVerteuil, 2015), which assists in exploring the political climate in Taiwan and the extent to which social policies and homeless services punish homeless people. Here, I draw upon the ambivalent influences of developmentalism, Confucian care ethics (e.g., collective familial well-being), and neoliberalism (e.g., individual welfare mainly met through market mechanisms).

The third is *poverty management* (May & Cloke, 2014; Wolch & DeVerteuil, 2003), referring to the punitive characteristics of homeless services perpetuated by the local state in a city and the supportive characteristics maintained by the voluntary sector through advocacy and campaigns for homeless people. The punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services are conceptualised in the Western landscapes of homelessness. This helps shed light on the East Asian landscapes of homelessness, including that in the global city of Taipei.

The last is *resilience* (DeVerteuil, 2015), referring to the voluntary sector's tensions with the state concerning providing homeless services and the voluntary sector's ability to negotiate with the state to deal with homelessness and appeal for more accommodating homeless services in the Western context. However, the voluntary sector's tensions and the negotiations with the state for accommodating homeless services change continuously in Western resilience, involving new threats of neoliberal welfare services shaped by the merits of collective welfare provision and consumption left from the previous Keynesian welfare states. This spatial dynamic has been conceptualised in the Western context (DeVerteuil, 2015) when the emerging literature demonstrates some evidence of the relationships between the voluntary sector's

negotiation with the state for accommodating homeless services, mainly in the Japanese context (DeVerteuil et al., 2022; Toshio et al., 2023). The existing literature on resilience and homelessness assists in exploring the voluntary sector's tensions and negotiations with the state in Taiwan for more accommodating homeless services in local contexts. Based on these four key concepts in the framework, I provide the three research focuses for exploring the complexity of homelessness in Taiwan below and answering the three research questions above.

Regarding the concept of *hopeful adaptation* (Power et al., 2019), it refers to the relational atmospheres in places encompassing various hopeful and hopeless feelings that influence or even support marginalised groups in formulating survival strategies to change despite their societal exclusion. In addition, the process of hopeful adaptation in resilience is such that individuals' hopeful and hopeless feelings are embedded in the residual arrangements to reshape urban poverty (Power et al., 2019). As mentioned above, this research seeks to use the lens of homeless support workers' lived experiences and (hopeful) adaptive capacities to explore the East Asian landscape of homelessness in Taiwan. This helps frame hopeful adaptation in East Asia. The research also uses this lens to answer the three research questions above.

1.2.1 The First Research Focus and Contributions

This research's first focus is exploring the interplay between the voluntary sector and the state in providing homeless services in Taiwan's welfare state. This focus and exploration help answer the first research question above. I examine the interplay between the voluntary sector and the state for homeless services provision in Taiwan to assess the relevance of Western-centric conceptualisations of homeless services provision. For example, the 'Housing First' programmes in the Western context involve respect for homeless people's autonomy and assisting primarily in helping them stay in housing which is supported by the voluntary sector and funded by grant aid and voluntary fundraising (DeVerteuil, 2012). In contrast, based on my empirical findings, as demonstrated in the later empirical chapters, long-term accommodation of homeless services is not prioritised in Taiwan. Instead, dealing with homeless people's broken kinship, applying for grants, and helping homeless people become self-reliant by carrying out paid work in the informal economy come before long-term accommodation and homeless services in Taiwan. This is associated with the characteristics of Taiwan's welfare state, involving an increased public budget for housing and social welfare before and after the 2008 global financial crisis (Chen & Li, 2012a; Hsueh & Chang, 2016). It also involves an inaccessible welfare system influenced by the Confucian ideal (i.e., that families are

responsible for meeting family members' welfare needs collectively), coupled with a neoliberal one (i.e., individuals are responsible for satisfying welfare needs in the market).

The geographies of homelessness are understudied in Taiwan within the existing literature. The examinations underpinning the research focus provide empirical findings to contribute to the literature in several ways. First, the findings will contribute to the literature on the shadow state (Jones & Royles, 2020; Wolch, 1990) by assessing its relevance in characterising the connections between the state and the voluntary sector in providing homeless services in Taiwan. This relationship is possibly shaped by the Confucian idea of collective familial well-being and the neoliberal idea of individual welfare, met mainly through the market. In this local context, the characteristics of the shadow state in Taiwan can be different from those of the West. Second, the empirical findings offer nuance to the literature on revanchism (Hennigan & Speer, 2019; Smith, 1996) by providing empirical evidence of the political climate of homeless people in Taiwan. The political climate involves policies under neoliberalism to remove homeless people from the streets and requires them to meet welfare needs mainly through the market; on the other hand, Confucianism requires family members to provide collective familial well-being.

Finally, the empirical findings contribute to the literature on resilience (DeVerteuil, 2015), in that the neoliberal idea (i.e., individual welfare met by the market) is not just a threat to the voluntary sector in providing homeless services in Taiwan but also a catalyst for the voluntary sector to reflect upon and amend homeless services under the Confucian idea (i.e., collective familial well-being). In other words, the voluntary sector in Taiwan uses this neoliberal idea from 'the West' as a convincing argument to campaign for amending social policies to make the range of family members paying maintenance smaller. The policy amendment is an approach to making the welfare system less inaccessible to homeless people, as the welfare budgets in Taiwan are gradually increasing. In this situation, maintenance and the Confucian idea in Taiwan are the merits and residues of resilience that render neoliberalism incomplete in the Taiwanese context.

1.2.2 The Second Research Focus and Contributions

My research's second focus is exploring the potential of the voluntary sector's tensions with the local state and the sector's possible contradictory features of homeless services provision. This exploration is intended to answer the second research question on Taipei's punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services.

There are three main reasons for answering research question 2 (Q2). First, the Taiwanese literature on the revanchist city of Taipei provides little evidence of how the Taipei government

tolerate homeless people (Jou et al., 2016). The government tolerates homeless people and collaborates with the voluntary sector to provide support for homelessness, including food and clothing in each district of Taipei, as well as free health treatments for homeless individuals through the debt-pending system (掛帳單系統). It is vital to fill the gap because if the government can tolerate homelessness within inner-city areas, it could improve homeless support and alleviate urban poverty, thereby promoting social inclusion in local contexts. Second, there is a lack of evidence on how non-profit homeless organisations in Taipei are shaped by variegated neoliberalism to conduct poverty management in collaboration with the Taipei government. It is essential to fill in the gap, as existing Taiwanese literature on homelessness shows that the voluntary sector supports the neoliberal idea of self-sufficiency mainly through employment (Huang, 2019, 2021b). In this context, the neoliberal idea is punitive to homeless people, who usually cannot be socially included through employment. Finally, the neoliberal idea of self-sufficiency can serve as a catalyst in Taiwan when it is fused with Confucianism to become more supportive. This means that most homeless people cannot access the welfare system in Taiwan due to the maintenance of the legal duty of mutual family support, which is considered to be a merit of Confucianism. However, the maintenance duty and the Confucian framing are contested by marginalised people because it is difficult for them to fulfil the maintenance duty in East Asian advanced economies. Taiwan's voluntary sector has somehow adopted the idea of self-sufficiency to advocate for adjusting homeless policies and improving homeless service outcomes in local contexts. However, there is little evidence to suggest that this is supportive in a meaningful sense. This reinforces the importance of focusing on the simultaneous punitive and supportive nature of homelessness services.

I explore the operation of homeless services conducted by groups of non-profit organisations in Taipei to examine whether they constitute a 'service hub' or work in isolation. I also examine the relationships between the non-profit organisations and the local state in Taipei, involving the groups' tensions with the local state and the non-profit organisations' strategies to change homeless services, intending to make the service more accommodating. For example, the housing grant is usually insufficient to pay for private rentals in Taipei (Ministry of Interior, 2021), and the local state usually provides insufficient housing to homeless people and asks them to cover the rental gap with their earnings. The study assesses homeless support workers' views on their distrust of the local state's offering of an insufficient housing grant to homeless people. The study also evaluates voluntary sector workers' views on an alternative private rented housing service provided by them to their homeless care recipients, which is associated with the characteristics of social housing in Taiwan, of allocating social housing units via a lottery system, meaning applicants must win a lottery to move into social housing (Liao, 2022).

Furthermore, I examine the tensions between non-profit organisations and the local state for providing health services to homeless people in Taipei. The Taipei state has enormous tolerance for homeless people's health services, as the local state covers all the health costs of homeless people (Li, 2016). However, there is a restriction in that homeless support workers must accompany homeless people to public hospitals for health services (Huang, 2021a). The limits often make the homeless services inaccessible, as homeless people usually do not contact homeless support workers for help, or the distance from the hospital is frequently too far for homeless people to reach. Given these barriers, it is unclear if homeless services provide alternative health services to improve the outcomes of homeless services. As private rented and social housing are not usually affordable for homeless people in Taipei, non-profit organisations generally provide alternative health services, mainly to enable homeless people to conduct paid work for self-reliance or contact their family members to repair their kinship to meet welfare needs from their families.

Examining the voluntary sector's tensions with the local state in Taipei for homeless services (e.g., emergency accommodation, privately rented and social housing, and health care) was intended to produce empirical findings to better understand the voluntary sector's alternative and contradictory homeless service provision. The findings contribute to a better understanding of the geographies of homelessness. First, the findings can provide insight into how homeless services are geographically configured and whether they constitute *service hubs* in Taipei (DeVerteuil, 2023; Evans et al., 2019). Moreover, they will reveal the voluntary sector's tensions with the local state in Taipei and the contradictions of homeless services provided by the clusters of non-profit organisations in Taipei. Second, the findings contribute to understanding *poverty management* (Baker et al., 2020; May & Cloke, 2014) by showing the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services in Taipei. Third, the findings provide nuances for examinations of *voluntary support in the welfare state* (Power et al., 2021)by demonstrating the potential for alternative homeless services provided in Taipei, in order to understand the voluntary sector's motivations for conducting community-based homeless services provision.

1.2.3 The Third Research Focus and Contributions

The third focus of this research is the variety of the voluntary sector's homeless support workers' everyday experiences (e.g., motivations and hopes) for pursuing homeless services provision in Taiwan. I examine the relationships between support workers' motivations and seek to answer the third research question above. I draw on support workers' accounts to examine their motivations to become homeless support workers, including various individual adversities. I also focus on the relationships between individual adversities and explore the difficulties support workers have encountered in persisting in providing their homeless services. I examine

the reasons for support workers pursuing the provision of their services in the East Asian landscape of homelessness, as it involves an inaccessible social care system that requires maintenance legislation and the Confucian belief in collective familial well-being. This landscape of homelessness in Taiwan also consists of the belief among some of the support workers in Taiwan's Confucian utopia of the Great Unity (大同), echoing the literature on utopian ideas embedded in places to motivate care providers to continue their work (Anderson, 2006). Moreover, the homelessness landscape in Taiwan involves support workers' positive imaginings of social democracies in the West, which motivates them to learn from the Western experience and adjust their homeless services to provide more accommodating services to alleviate homelessness in Taiwan.

It is crucial to explore the variety of voluntary-sector agents' everyday experiences (e.g., motivations, adversities, and beliefs) in Taiwan's welfare state. This is because some literature suggests that their everyday experiences are a significant factor in influencing the way homeless services are provided to care recipients (Huang, 2021a; Li, 2016). However, there is a lack of evidence to examine the complex relationship between the variety of their daily experience and local homeless services provision in Taiwan. Hence, I engage my theoretical framework with *contact zones* (DeVerteuil et al., 2020) to explore the ambivalent relationship between homeless care providers and recipients in Taiwan's voluntary sector. The concept of contact zones develops in the Western contexts, referring to the internal spaces of the voluntary sector and the sector's 'ambivalent' relationship with marginalised groups, which are strongly shaped by neoliberal notions and the configuration of a welfare regime, such as downloaded welfare responsibility to individuals, dismantling of welfare provision, and retrenching of government spending (DeVerteuil et al., 2020; May et al., 2020; Power et al., 2021).

The Western contexts of the voluntary sector's internal spaces are often described as developing in a 'pessimistically' parasitic relationship with the state and the market, shaped by neoliberal notions (DeVerteuil et al., 2020). However, my research findings demonstrate Taiwan's voluntary-sector internal spaces are developing in a slightly optimistic but still neoliberal parasitic relationship with the state and the market, such as a continuous increase in government funding, a gradually stronger universal social and health care, which coexist with downloaded welfare responsibility and workfare welfare provision in Taiwan's welfare state (Fleckenstein & Lee, 2017; Lue, 2014; Yeh & Ku, 2017).

Based on my findings, neoliberalism parasitises Taiwan's developmental state with 'Confucian' and family-based welfare characteristics and then mutates to become the alternative with optimism. On the one hand, the conventional ethics of care in Taiwan and other East Asian advanced economies are family-based (Ochiai, 2011; Walker & Wong, 2005). The state

mandates mutual family support for welfare needs in Taiwan through legislation (Civil Code, 2021; Public Assistance Act, 2015). In this context, Taiwan's voluntary sector and the state's welfare provision are underpinned by East Asia's ideology, which is a fusion of Confucian philosophy and neoliberal notions (Ong, 1999; Park et al., 2012). On the other hand, my findings demonstrate that this cultural factor shapes the internal spaces of Taiwan's voluntary sector and homeless services. At the same time, neoliberal notions are the 'catalyst' in this shaping process instead of only the 'threat' considered in Western advanced economies (DeVerteuil, 2015) (See Chapters 4 and 6). This is because neoliberal notions are the ideological substances from the West that react with Confucian philosophy to 'adjust' East Asian conventional ethics of care for better homeless service outcomes in Taiwan's voluntary sector.

For instance, the logic of homeless service provision in Taiwan is family-based, as evidenced by the priority of the service for 'returning homeless people home' under Taiwan's maintenance legislation (Huang, 2019, 2021b). However, this family-based service is inaccessible because family conflicts or domestic violence are the leading causes of their homelessness (Li, 2019; Shi & Li, 2022). In this regard, my findings demonstrate that neoliberal notions (i.e., housing provision and self-sufficiency supported by workfare welfare) enable Taiwan's voluntary sector to reflect and create housing-based homeless services that support homeless individuals, such as temporary housing for employed care recipients to accumulate regular savings. This service is supportive in Taiwan's context because it helps homeless care recipients find a place to rest and repair their kinships. My findings indicate that many homeless individuals do not return home but maintain their kinship as a motivation for living independently, so as not to worry their family (see Chapters 4 and 6). This case reveals the contradiction between Confucian notions of family-based welfare and neoliberal notions of individualised welfare. It also shows how the fusion of these ideologies helps Taiwan's voluntary sector to create alternative and supportive homeless services in Taiwan, echoing *contact zones* (DeVerteuil et al., 2020), which involves the ambivalent relationship between the voluntary sector and care recipients in a neoliberal parasitic welfare regime.

Based on my findings, the East Asian spatialities of fused Confucian and neoliberal notions offer a powerful lens for further exploring the complex relationships between the voluntary sector and homeless care recipients in Taiwan and possibly other East Asian advanced economies. It helps to nuance the understanding of a set of micro-politics, motivations, and relationalities in an East Asian context. It also helps to explore the spatial dynamics of 'boundary-making' and 'boundary-breaking' (Lawson & Elwood, 2014) between clients and staff in the voluntary sector, influenced by ideological factors in East Asia. While neoliberal notions are catalysts for reacting with Confucian notions to adjust welfare services in Taiwan and perhaps other East Asian advanced economies, the neoliberal parasitic relationship between the East Asian state, the

voluntary sector, and the market is not necessarily pessimistic, but rather optimistic in East Asia even through welfare services in Taiwan are usually provided in precarity, such as insecure and long-hour care work. For example, the cluster of voluntary-sector organisations as Taipei's service hub in Wanhua district provides 'housing-based' homeless services focusing more on homeless people's accommodation needs for self-sufficiency, which is learnt from the US context of the Housing First programme with neoliberal characteristics to adjust family-based homeless services (See Chapter 5). Another service hub in Taipei's Zhongzheng district employs neoliberal notions (e.g., self-sufficiency and individual freedom) to help homeless care recipients obtain paid work in the informal economy (e.g., housing cleaning services), thereby avoiding being returned home for mutual family support (also see Chapter 5).

In short, Taipei's service hubs are suitable for exploring the contact zones within the internal spaces of Taiwan's voluntary sector, which involve a variety of homeless service workers' motivations for providing services and their everyday practices in adjusting services to achieve better outcomes. This research utilises the third research question (Q3) to explore the motivations and emotions of homeless support workers in the voluntary sector that motivate them to persist in providing support. It is necessary to ask Q3 to understand the complexities of contact zones in Taipei, involving the perspectives of homeless support workers and exploring how they align with care recipients' perspectives from the literature. This will help inform an understanding of the co-production of support services.

In terms of the connections between research questions two and three, Q3 on homeless support workers' everyday experiences is necessary to provide a deeper insight into Q2 on how the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless support are experienced and managed. First, the differing opinions of various groups on homeless support influence the negotiation process between the voluntary sector and the state, leading to better support outcomes. Therefore, it is necessary to ask Q3 to understand the influences of the different groups' opinions shaping the negotiating process for more accommodating homeless support. Second, the local ideology of Confucianism, coupled with neoliberalism, may influence public and voluntary agencies providing support for the homeless. Whilst there is a lack of evidence to examine the ideological influences on the agencies' everyday practices in Taiwan, it is necessary to have the empirical findings on the variety of individual opinions on homeless support, which helps understand the complex local partnership between the state and the voluntary sector, which is shaped by the stigma against homeless people and negotiations for more accommodative homeless support.

Examining the relationships between homeless support workers' motivations and hopes in the voluntary sector provides empirical findings that contribute to knowledge of the geographies of

homelessness. First, the findings give some nuance to hopeful adaptation (Power et al., 2019) by showing the relationships between individual adversities and hope to explore why homeless support workers pursue work in the voluntary sector. Second, the findings contribute to the concept of a *messy middle ground* (May & Cloke, 2014)by giving homeless support workers both secular and religious motives in Taiwan's voluntary sector for continuing homeless services provision. Third, the findings provide some nuance of *residues* (DeVerteuil, 2015; DeVerteuil et al., 2020) by showing the variety of support workers' hopes in Taiwan's welfare state as an essential factor in shaping the residual arrangements of resilience in the East Asian context.

In section 2.3.1, I will also justify how the Taiwanese development state creates hybrid governance with neoliberal and Confucian characteristics to manage homeless people. I will explain how this hybrid governance is shaped by the Taiwanese characteristics of *revanchism* (Smith, 1996, 2002) and *poverty management* (DeVerteuil, 2006; DeVerteuil et al., 2009) for contributions. It helps to understand the care ethics for homeless services in the fusion of market and Confucianism in Taiwan. Structure of the Thesis

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 introduces a critical social geography of homelessness framework and illustrates the four fundamental concepts in the framework referred to above. I first introduce the idea of the *shadow state* from the Western experience (Jones & Royles, 2020; Wolch, 1990) to question whether the shadow state's characteristics in Taiwan match the West's. Then, I introduce the idea of *revanchism* in the Western context (Hennigan & Speer, 2019; Smith, 1996) in order to examine the possible characteristics of revanchist cities in Taiwan. After this, I introduce the concept of *poverty management* from the Western experience (May & Cloke, 2014; Wolch & DeVerteuil, 2003) to reflect on poverty management conducted within a city in Taiwan. Last, I introduce the concepts of *resilience, service hubs,* and *hopeful adaptation* in the Western context (DeVerteuil, 2015; Power et al., 2019) as the lens through which to explore the relationships between the voluntary sector's feelings of hope and resilience within a city in Taiwan.

Chapter 3 describes how I conducted qualitative research to explore the landscape of homelessness in Taiwan. I present information on the field sites in Taiwan selected for data collection. Then, I explain why semi-structured interviewing was chosen as my primary method and how I used it to conduct 55 interviews, which included 22 key informants (i.e., 21 managers and a policymaker) and 33 participants (i.e., homeless support workers). In addition, the chapter demonstrates my position in conducting interviews with interviewees in Taiwan and my approach to analysing the interview data. The chapter also explains how I conducted participant observation for three months in Taipei to triangulate and complement the interview data.

Furthermore, the chapter outlines my position in conducting participant observation and my approach to analysing the observation data.

The next three chapters demonstrate the empirical findings from the three research focuses referred to above. Chapter 4 draws on the first research focus to produce empirical findings on the interplay between the voluntary sector and the state in providing homeless services in Taiwan. The empirical findings demonstrate how Taiwan's welfare state shapes social policies and homeless services under developmentalism. I explain how the empirical findings in that chapter contribute to the literature on the geographies of homelessness. Chapter 5 uses the second research focus to produce empirical findings regarding the voluntary sector's tensions with the local state and the sector's contradictory homeless services provision. The empirical findings demonstrate how the voluntary sector in Taiwan is motivated by its distrust of the local state to provide alternative homeless services, whilst local contexts shape the alternative services and become partly punitive. I explain how the empirical findings in this chapter contribute to the knowledge of the geographies of homelessness.

Chapter 6 uses the third research focus above to produce empirical findings on the variety of the voluntary sector's homeless support workers' everyday experiences (e.g., motivations and hopes) for continuing in and pursuing homeless services provision. The empirical findings demonstrate the various motivations behind individuals in Taiwan becoming homeless support workers, on the one hand, and the multiple hopes that cause the support workers to persist in providing their homeless services, on the other hand. I explain how the empirical findings in this chapter contribute to the knowledge of the geographies of homelessness.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis. It provides an overview of the empirical findings and the broader implications of this research for homelessness research in East Asia in general. It also discusses the limitations of the research and provides recommendations for future studies. I also reflect on the overall significance of this research.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Homelessness is a complex problem that is associated with social causes (e.g., a lack of affordable housing, poverty, and unemployment), life events (e.g., no place to go after leaving prison or care centres; domestic violence and abuse), and physical and mental disability (Cloke et al., 2010; Wolch & Dear, 1993). In the Western context, the state employs the theory of political economy and the practices of *neoliberalism* to conduct welfare reform, neoliberalism here referring to liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework as the best way to advance human well-being (Harvey, 2005). However, there is a view that the state employs this idea to implement workfare and punitive policies for the social control of homeless people (DeVerteuil, 2006; Smith, 1996). Meanwhile, the state uses this neoliberal idea to shift the welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector (e.g., community groups and non-profit organisations) and implements austerity policies to retrench governmental funding on community-based homeless services as a *roll-back neoliberalism* (Peck & Tickell, 2002; Power & Skinner, 2019). However, the voluntary sector is able to negotiate with the state to make homeless services more accommodating (Evans, 2011; May & Cloke, 2014). In addition, the voluntary sector may be motivated by feelings of hope regarding its ability to adapt and persist in providing homeless services, but this is tempered by the neoliberal welfare state's pursuit of austerity policies, which may prompt a sense of hopelessness within the voluntary sector (Power et al., 2019). As a result, the voluntary sector usually provides care services in precarity under roll-back neoliberalism (DeVerteuil et al., 2020; Power et al., 2021).

In the field of human geography, the existing literature demonstrates how neoliberalism shapes landscapes of homelessness in the Western context (DeVerteuil, 2015; Dear & Wolch, 1987; Smith, 1996) In the Western context, the state employs neoliberal ideas, co-opting the market for economic production and exacerbating social and economic inequalities (Smith, 1996). On the one hand, the neoliberal state implements punitive social policies for homeless people by conducting social control over them (DeVerteuil, 2015). On the other hand, the state uses neoliberal ideas to encourage the voluntary sector to shoulder the responsibility for welfare provision, including homeless services (Dear & Wolch, 1987). The voluntary sector's tension with the state in providing welfare services is one of the significant motivations for the voluntary sector to collaborate with the state to provide those services. In this collaboration, the state shifts its welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector, encouraging the latter to provide

community-based welfare services through a market mechanism; this collaboration is called *the shadow state* (Wolch, 1990). The shadow state under roll-back neoliberalism involves *austerity*, such as retrenching welfare benefits and small and insecure funding for homeless services (DeVerteuil, 2015). The shadow state also involves *precarity* by organising social enterprises, relying heavily on non-statutory funding, self-funding, and volunteers to continue providing homeless services (Cloke et al., 2010; Power et al., 2021). However, Western literature also focuses on how the voluntary sector negotiates with the state to make homeless services less punitive and more supportive of helping homeless people in cities. In the negotiation, the voluntary sector may be the vehicle for social movements and social justice to alleviate homelessness in the West and beyond.

In contrast, the emerging East Asian literature on urban studies tends to employ the US context of the shadow state to develop the theory to explore how the state co-opted private sector investors to gentrify inner-city areas and demand that the voluntary sector supply community-based services in East Asia (Kırmızı, 2023; Kornatowski & Mizuuchi, 2023). The emerging East Asian literature on the geographies of homelessness draws on how the voluntary sector in Japan, for example, adapts to the difficulty of collaborating with the state to provide homeless services (DeVerteuil, Kiener, et al., 2022; DeVerteuil et al., 2022a). However, East Asian studies and the geographies of homelessness lack clear evidence to answer an essential question: How does the state in East Asia employ neoliberal discourses to shift the welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector, whilst East Asian welfare states have not experienced the Keynesian style of collective welfare provision and consumption such as the US and the UK welfare states undertook from the late 1940s to the late 1970s? East Asian welfare states might possibly have developed beyond roll-back neoliberalism. There is little existing literature that demonstrates what threat from neoliberalism there is in the East Asian welfare states and what merits are left in the wake of welfare state engagement with neoliberalism (Goodman et al., 1998; Park et al., 2012).

The literature demonstrates that the East Asian welfare states developed under *developmentalism*, involving a blend of state-led economic development and market-led welfare system and provision, which also involved the downloading of welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector from the post-war period (Goodman et al., 1998; Park et al., 2012). The literature also demonstrates that Confucianism possibly reconciles the contradiction between state-led economic and market-led welfare development (Park et al., 2012). In other words, it is

worth adjusting the research focus of the geographies of homelessness in East Asia from how neoliberalism has shaped East Asian welfare states to how neoliberalism shapes them when coupled with Confucianism. Which I have explained partly in 1.1, and I will explain further later. There is a sufficiently significant gap in the literature on the geographies of homelessness to justify exploring how the state employs neoliberal and Confucian discourses to shift welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector and families in East Asian welfare states under developmentalism. This means that it is possible that the shadow states in East Asia have been shaped by developmentalism instead of (only) neoliberalism. If the shadow states in East Asia developed under developmentalism, retrenching governmental funding on community-based homeless services in austerity may not happen. However, the voluntary sector is likely to provide community-based homeless services in precarity within local contexts. Hence, it is necessary to fill in the gap to provide nuance for understanding the relationships between the shadow state, the voluntary sector, and homelessness as an urgent global challenge for social justice. In doing so, I chose Taiwan as a valuable case for filling the gap for three main reasons.

First, Taiwan is a welfare state under developmentalism, involving a gradually increased welfare budget since the 1980s (Ku, 1997; Yeh & Ku, 2017) and a downloaded welfare responsibility under neoliberalism and Confucianism (Park et al., 2012; Walker & Wong, 2005). Second, developmentalism influences not only the local states' governance and social control of homeless people in Taiwan, but also how the voluntary sector provides homeless services under the influence of governmentality (i.e., the interactions between policies, the voluntary sector, and homeless people in power dynamics) (Wolch, 1990). Last, the capital city of Taiwan (Taipei) is one of the global cities identified by Sassen (2005) but remains understudied.

In short, my research uses Taiwan as a case to explore how developmentalism includes neoliberalism coupled with Confucianism to shape not only homeless policies and services but also homeless people's and homeless care providers' everyday practices in the East Asian welfare state. In this chapter, I will first review the literature on neoliberalism and the shadow state in the Western context. Then, I will review the literature on developmentalism in East Asia in order to engage with the theoretical concept of the shadow state. After this, I will review the literature on the critical concepts of the geographies of homelessness, *revanchism*, *poverty management*, *resilience*, and *hope*, as these concepts are understudied in Taiwan and possibly in the rest of the East Asian countries. Last, I will outline my empirical findings as presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, which will fill in the knowledge gaps as preparation for answering the

research questions above at the end of each section. This is not only to explore the complex spaces of homelessness in Taiwan but also to examine the neoliberalisation of the East Asian welfare state, which I coin *the fusion of Confucianism* (and neoliberalism).

2.1 The Shadow State and Developmentalism

Neoliberalism is a theory of the political economy practices that can best advance human well-being by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework. In the framework, the state should emphasise markets, a minimal state, and individuals' choices to make social, economic, and political arrangements for advancing human well-being (Harvey, 2005; MacLeavy, 2020). In the late 1970s, the UK state and the US state initially employed the theory of neoliberalism for governance, such as by mobilising and extending markets and market logic to discredit Keynesian forms of state intervention (e.g., collective welfare provision and consumption) as a 'rollback' (Peck, 2001). Subsequently, the state co-opted the market to 'roll out' and extend the market logic to new realms of life under a neoliberal discourse, such as austere welfare reform involving the retrenchment of the welfare budget and downloading welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector (Peck, 2003; Power & Skinner, 2019). In short, neoliberalism is a political-economic theory that human well-being and individual freedoms can only be achieved through free market mechanisms. To achieve this, the state cooperates with the market and the voluntary sector.

Human geographers have examined and demonstrated the process of welfare responsibility downloaded to the voluntary sector in Western contexts. The voluntary sector refers to a space independent of the state and the market by emphasising the non-profit principle, mutualism, and altruism, and from the family/community by its formality (DeVerteuil, 2015). In the US context, Geiger and Wolch (1986) examined the process of downloading welfare responsibility. In the early 1970s, the state in the US used a new type of governance to fulfil many government functions for welfare services provision in partnership with the voluntary sector. The state provided more significant opportunities for the voluntary sector to participate in local governance and service-delivery decisions. Since then, a strong partnership between the state and the voluntary sector for welfare services provision has been built. However, the potential role of the voluntary sector in conducting activities based on voluntarism became contradictory, whilst the voluntary sector had participated in local governance with the state. In partnership with the state for welfare services provision, the voluntary sector was often highly

reliant on public funding for services provision. This partnership between the state and the voluntary sector in the US context is called 'the shadow state' (DeVerteuil et al., 2002; Wolch, 1990) (see Figure 1).

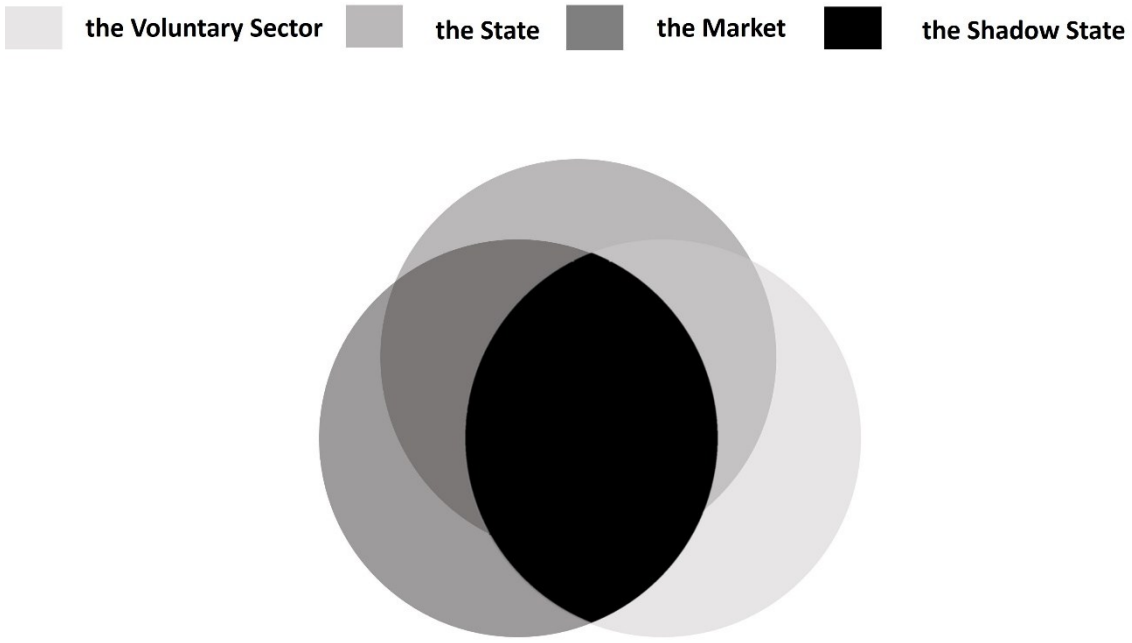

Figure 1 Relationships in and beyond the shadow state

(DeVerteuil, 2015)

Based on the theory of the shadow state (Geiger & Wolch, 1986; Wolch, 1990), human geographers further explored the relationships between neoliberalism and the shadow state to understand how the voluntary sector shoulders welfare responsibility in Western contexts (DeVerteuil, 2015; DeVerteuil et al., 2020; Power & Skinner, 2019). Power and Skinner (2019) demonstrate how the voluntary sector provides welfare services in the shadow states in Western contexts, including English-speaking countries and beyond, which exhibit roll-back and roll-out forms of neoliberalisation. In neoliberalisation, the voluntary sectors provide welfare services in *precarity*, whereby they rely on the states to provide welfare services, whilst the states cut welfare budgets heavily after the 2008 global financial crisis as part of a package of *austerity* measures. Consequently, the voluntary sectors had insufficient governmental funding to persist in providing welfare services.

Shadow states may be pervasive in the Global North in shaping the voluntary sectors and welfare services provision (DeVerteuil et al., 2020). In East Asia, however, it is questionable whether the neoliberalisation of roll-back and roll-out has shaped the East Asian voluntary sector because East Asian countries have not experienced Keynesian welfare states of

collective welfare provision and consumption (Park et al., 2012). Indeed, some East Asian countries (e.g., Taiwan and South Korea) even increased welfare budgets after the 2008 financial crisis (Lue, 2012; Sacchi & Roh, 2016; Yeh & Ku, 2017). The existing literature demonstrates that East Asian welfare states are significantly influenced by developmentalism (Dostal, 2010; Hwon, 2005; Park et al., 2012), whilst the theory of the shadow state is understudied in East Asia. Consequently, it is unclear how relevant the concept is to the region.

Developmentalism is a theory of political economy practices shaped by local contexts (Harvey, 2017; Park et al., 2012; Watts, 2019). In East Asia, developmentalism refers to state-led governance in which the government uses its administrative resources to promote economic growth and development in the country while shifting welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector to minimise welfare budgets (Hill et al., 2012; Saito, 2012). For example, Taiwan's state implemented many national economic projects based on a planned economy to conduct rapid industrialisation and urbanisation from the 1950s to the 1990s (Hauge, 2020; Hsu, 2011). However, this state-led economic development did not create state-led welfare provision. Instead, Taiwan's state demanded that the voluntary sector shoulder the welfare responsibility and provide welfare services within the market, including addressing housing needs (Liao, 2022; Park et al., 2012). On the one hand, Taiwan's state used political repression to compel the voluntary sector to shoulder the responsibility for housing provision (Liao, 2022). Meanwhile, the state used Confucianism to request that families fulfil their duty of meeting familial well-being as the conventional merit in East Asia, on the other hand (Park et al., 2012). In other words, Confucianism is crucial in blending developmental and neoliberal governance to maximise economic production and minimise welfare expenditures (Goodman et al., 1998; Park et al., 2012).

The shadow state in East Asia is shaped by the fusion of Confucian and neoliberal notions (see Section 1.1). Repeatedly, there are three main ideas of Confucianism related to the configuration of East Asian welfare states. Firstly, family harmony is a core value in Confucianism, as mentioned above, where individuals are responsible for meeting their family's welfare demands with little support from the government, considered a moral principle in a Confucian society (Goodman et al., 1998; Walker & Wong, 2005). However, homeless people may find it difficult to meet their needs through this family support when they experience family conflicts, as the main factor in becoming homeless in Taiwan, explained later (see Chapter 4), and perhaps other East Asian countries. Secondly, homeless agencies in Taiwan's state and the

voluntary sector rarely employ the Keynesian concept of welfare provision (e.g., state-led welfare provision for collective consumption) for many reasons, such as the prevention of welfare reliance, the obligation of family-based welfare in a Confucian society, and the distrust of the government associated with the historical trauma from the previous regime of autocracy, as explained in Chapters 4 and 5. Instead, both the state and the voluntary sector utilise neoliberal ideas (e.g., downloaded welfare responsibility, promoting self-sufficiency for housing, and employment primarily through market mechanisms) to provide services to homeless people. This is because these neoliberal ideas share some similarities with Confucian notions (see Chapters 4 and 5). Lastly, Taiwan's landscape of homelessness is further complicated by the East Asian modernity of compressed development, which involves the rapid transformation of a peasant society into an advanced economy over a four-decade period in Taiwan, from the late 1950s to the late 1990s (See Chapters 4 and 6).

Confucianism is the key driving factor in shaping the interplay between the state and the voluntary sector for providing welfare services in East Asia. Confucianism is a type of 'governance' that is pervasive in East Asia, in which the economy was not regarded as an independent and autonomous sphere but as an integral part of the government for governance. Indeed, the nation's interests came before those of individuals in the hierarchical political system, emphasising consensus and conformity as signs of respect (Ling & Shih, 1998; Saito, 2012; Walker & Wong, 2005). On the other hand, Confucianism is the conventional merit that individual well-being must be met collectively in the family when family members satisfy each other's welfare needs mutually, supported by the state (Choi, 2013; Goodman et al., 1998). In short, the state uses Confucian governance for state-led governance while employing Confucian care ethics for downloading welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector and families in East Asia (Hill et al., 2012; Saito, 2012).

The transformation of East Asian pre-welfare states and welfare states under developmentalism intersected with the transition of political regimes from autocracy to democracy (Goodman et al., 1998; Park et al., 2012). Using Taiwan as an example, in the pre-welfare state (i.e., 1949 to 1995), the government in the authoritarian regime (1945 to 1991) employed developmentalism to prioritise economic development supported by selective welfare policies mainly for certain groups (e.g., officials, civil servants, and military personnel) in order to gain political support. Meanwhile, the state shifted its welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector to minimise welfare budgets (Ku, 1997; So & Ku, 1998). In 1991, Taiwan

became a democracy and a welfare state with a universal health and social care system was established in 1995. The government continued to employ developmentalism for economic development, supported by universal welfare systems. At the same time, the state kept the voluntary sector's downloaded welfare responsibility to restrain and slow the increase in the welfare budget (Fleckenstein & Lee, 2017; Hill & Hwang, 2005; Ku, 2001; Yeh & Ku, 2017). Hence, I claim that the blend of welfare created a shadow state in Taiwan that developed under developmentalism without austerity, whilst the voluntary sector provided welfare services in precarity. I next employ the housing crisis and homelessness in Taiwan as a theme to explore how the voluntary sector shoulders welfare responsibility in the shadow state.

2.1.1 The Housing Crisis and Homelessness in Taiwan, 1943 to 1995

The *housing shortage* in Taiwan started in 1943 due to the bombing raids conducted by the US Air Force until 1945, which destroyed numerous buildings when Taiwan was a Japanese colony (1895 to 1945) (Chen & Li, 2012). For example, in 1945, over 26,000 buildings in Taipei were destroyed by the bombardment, and more than 19,000 buildings were heavily damaged at a time when Taipei had a total population of approximately 271,000 (Taipei City Government, 2012; Taiwan Historica, 2016). This means that over half the people in Taipei possibly experienced homelessness in 1945, although there are no official records on the homeless population. There is no evidence of damaged buildings and homelessness in the rest of the cities, while the total population in Taiwan was approximately six million in the same year (Wu, 1997). In 1949 and 1950, over one million Chinese refugees went to Taiwan with the Chinese Nationalist Party (國民黨) when the Party and its armies lost the Second Chinese Civil War (1945 to 1950) (Liao, 2022). However, houses damaged or destroyed by the bombardment were not repaired, which caused a housing crisis (Chen & Li, 2012).

After the Chinese Nationalist Party retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the Party built an authoritarian regime to govern Taiwan until 1991. The autocratic government in Taiwan paid little attention to people's housing demands over its ruling period (1949 to 1991). Families and community groups in Taiwan built informal settlements (e.g., slums) on public lands (e.g., parks, graveyards, and floodplains) as the primary approach to meeting their need for housing over the 1950s and 1960s (Chien, 2019). Consequently, many households stayed in informal settlements for a long time. For example, over one-third of Taipei's population lived in informal settlements in the mid-1960s (Ren, 1998). The National Women's League of the Republic of

China (中華民國婦女聯合會) was the leading national non-profit organisation helping families build adequate housing during the autocracy (1949 to 1991), as only 51,560 housing units were constructed from 1957 to 1992 (Lin, 2012). This non-profit organisation raised funding from political and economic elites to build adequate housing units, although these units were only provided to military, public, and teaching personnel in local contexts (Liao, 2022).

The state of Taiwan has not shouldered the responsibility for building adequate housing since 1949. From 1950 to 1969, only a little over 100,000 public housing units were built (Lin, 2012), which is associated with the characteristics of Taiwan's developmental state, such as anti-communism and Confucianism (Chen & Li, 2012b; Liao, 2022). First, the state employed the political ideology of anti-communism to create political repression, demanding that families meet their own welfare needs, including housing demand in the market and the voluntary sector (Lin, 2012). In comparison, the British state played the leading role in building public housing in the same period for homeless people who experienced housing destruction during World War II (Humphreys, 1999). Second, the US government provided significant financial and technical support to Taiwan, helping the Taiwan government govern Taiwan under anti-communism, associated with the outbreak of the Korean War (1950), and keeping Taiwan in 'the US orbit' rather than being absorbed back into communist China (Harvey, 2020; Lin, 1992). Last, the Taiwan government started state-led industrialisation in 1953 and used financial and technical support from the US to help develop industrialisation in the 1960s, which caused rapid urbanisation in the same decade. Instead of building enough public housing for the increased urban population, however, the state employed the Confucian idea of familial responsibility for meeting the collective family's welfare demands as an approach to demanding that households meet their housing needs through the market or assistance from the voluntary sector (Park et al., 2012).

Since 1955, the state of Taiwan has cooperated with the private sector to sell public housing once it has been built (Lin, 2012). According to Lin (2012), this phenomenon differs from the Western context in the Cold War period (1947 to 1991); public housing was for renting to help households live in adequate housing in Western welfare states. In contrast, the Taiwan government sold public housing mainly to help certain groups (e.g., military, public, and teaching personnel) live in adequate housing in return for political support in the autocracy. With regard to the private sector, this was expanding under the state-led industrialisation and started playing a leading role in the housing supply in the late 1960s (Liao, 2022). In the early

1970s, the private sector became the major player in housing provision. However, the price of buying private housing was not affordable for middle-income families until 1989, when the Taiwan government ended the prohibition on housing mortgages, which had been in place to demand that banks invest in industries as an approach to developing industrialisation (Chen & Li, 2012). In 1991, Taiwan transformed into a democracy, Taiwan's total population then being over 20 million, while the total number of public housing units was insufficient during the autocracy (1949 to 1991) at over 287,000 (Lin, 2012). In other words, families who could not buy private or public housing units were forced to stay in informal settlements during the autocracy period.

The families who stayed in informal settlements can be considered homeless, but the Taiwan government does not record the number of these families. As Figure 2 shows below, the number of households was higher than that of housing units between 1970 and 1983, indicating that many households shared a housing unit with others, which can be considered hidden homelessness. Then, the number of households was higher than that of housing units from 1991 to 2000. This suggests that even though Taiwan transformed into a democracy in 1991 and became a welfare state with a universal health and social security system in 1995, the housing crisis was reshaped and continued in Taiwan after 1991.

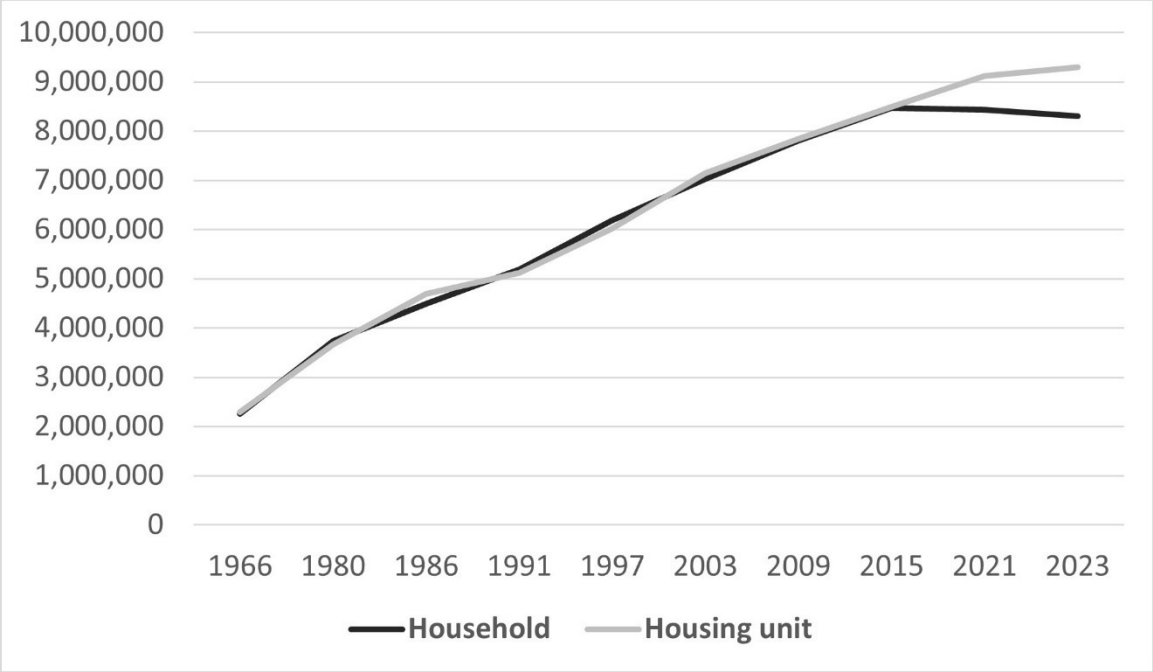

Figure 2 Historical number of households and housing units in Taiwan
(Executive Yuan, 1969, 2007, 2024a; Ministry of Interior, 2024a)

2.1.2 The Housing Crisis and Homelessness in Taiwan, 1995 to 2023

After Taiwan became a democracy in 1991 and a welfare state in 1995, the housing crisis continued but was reshaped under developmentalism (Chen & Li, 2012; Liao, 2022). There are three crucial factors in the housing crisis within Taiwan's welfare state: (1) the governmental schemes for providing low-interest housing mortgages to increase the number of homeowners; (2) the small and insufficient amount of housing grants; and (3) the peculiar social housing system, including the scarcity of housing units, the unaffordable rental price, and the 'lottery' and bidding system. In terms of governmental schemes and low-interest housing mortgages, after Taiwan became a democracy in 1991, the state replaced its old approach of political repression and continuing the voluntary sector's downloaded housing responsibility with the new strategy of strengthening the clientele relationships with families by introducing governmental schemes for housing mortgages (Chen, 2020; Li, 2007; Yip & Chang, 2003). This means the voluntary sector continued to shoulder the downloaded responsibility for housing. The state effectively increased the percentage of homeownership in total housing in Taiwan through schemes on mortgages, from over 70% of homeownership in 1980 to over 92% in 2020 (Chen & Li, 2010; Ministry of Interior, 2021). This can be compared with England, where the percentage of total housing homeownership was only 65% in 2022-2023 (GOV.UK, 2023). This

high percentage of homeownership in Taiwan is intersected by the popularity of property investment to shape the housing crisis in Taiwan, involving increased buying and rental housing prices (Chen & Li, 2010; 2012; Liao, 2022) (see Figure 3). In short, introducing governmental schemes for housing mortgages instead of building more public housing units to meet families' housing needs has increased the total percentage of homeownership in Taiwan. However, families who cannot access housing mortgages are excluded from the government schemes, and such families remain in a precarious situation in terms of meeting their housing needs through privately rented housing, with the gradually increasing price shown in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3 Buying and renting housing price index in Taiwan[1]
(Ministry of Interior, 2024b)

The housing crisis in Taiwan has further shaped Taiwan's welfare state due to the small and insufficient amount of housing grants. The first housing grant (租金補貼) was provided by the state in 2007 (Ministry of Interior, 2021a), whilst the number of grants is small (i.e., the cap being around 200 GBP per month[2]). The grant cap has not changed since then, despite Taiwan's annual inflation rate being at least 2% in the same period (Liao, 2022). For example, the middle

[1] There was no buying housing price index between 1991 and 1999 because Taiwan's government did not have the data for that period. There is no explanation from the government for the uncollected data.

[2] The exchange rate based on Xe (2024) on 5th July 2024.

size of an apartment (i.e., about 95 m^2) was approximately 640 to 660 GBP monthly in 2007 and 770 to 790 GBP in 2022(Chu, 2022; Tsuei Ma Ma, 2007). Table 1 demonstrates that housing grant recipients increased significantly from 12,000 in 2007 to 278,369 in 2022. The average was 2.6 people per household in 2022 (Ministry of Interior, 2024a), and the number of individuals using this grant was approximately 723,700. Indeed, this means the number of statutory homeless people (e.g., experiencing hidden and street homelessness) in Taiwan may be the same as in 2022. However, the Taiwan government claims the statutory number of homeless people was only 2,376 in the same year (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2024). In short, the small and insufficient housing grant shapes Taiwan's housing crisis and homelessness.

Table 1 The annual number of housing benefit applications in Taiwan

Source:(Ministry of Interior, 2024a)

Year	No. of applications	Approved	Approval rate (%)
2007	16,054	12,000	74.75
2008	28,011	23,630	84.36
2009	25,524	23,120	90.58
2010	52,242	47,058	90.08
2011	62,747	56,806	90.53
2012	89,383	24,672	27.6
2013	66,203	24,961	37.7
2014	61,018	24,992	40.96
2015	58,743	50,524	86.01
2016	65,667	58,364	88.88
2017	70,204	60,533	86.22
2018	76,997	65,712	85.34
2019	87,338	72,045	82.49
2020	144,464	114,838	79.49
2021	165,542	131,264	79.29
2022	326,707	278,369	85.2

Last, Taiwan's housing crisis is shaped by the peculiar social system encompassing the scarcity of social housing units, the unaffordable rental price, and the ‘lottery’ and bidding system. Regarding the shortage of social housing units, the state initially intended to construct only rental social housing starting in 2012, while the first related policy was implemented late in the same year (Housing Act, 2021). After this, local states signed a Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) contract with construction companies to build social housing (Chen et al., 2019; Huang &

Dzeng, 2019). In a BOT contract, local states mainly provide funding for construction, but not for maintenance after social housing units are constructed. Construction companies are responsible for maintenance expenditures under a BOT contract. This differs from the UK context, in which local councils are responsible for paying the maintenance expenditures for social housing (e.g., council housing) (GOV.UK, 2024b). However, BOT contracts usually cause a slow increase in social housing units in Taiwan because construction companies often refuse to work with the local states to build the units under the contracts, mainly generating limited profits (Chen et al., 2019). Consequently, the total number of social housing units built was only around 94,000 in 2023 (Ministry of the Interior, 2023). In addition, as Figure 4 shows, the percentage of social housing in the total housing supply in Taiwan was only 0.16% in 2018, whereas in the UK this was 18%, and 5% in the US in the same year.

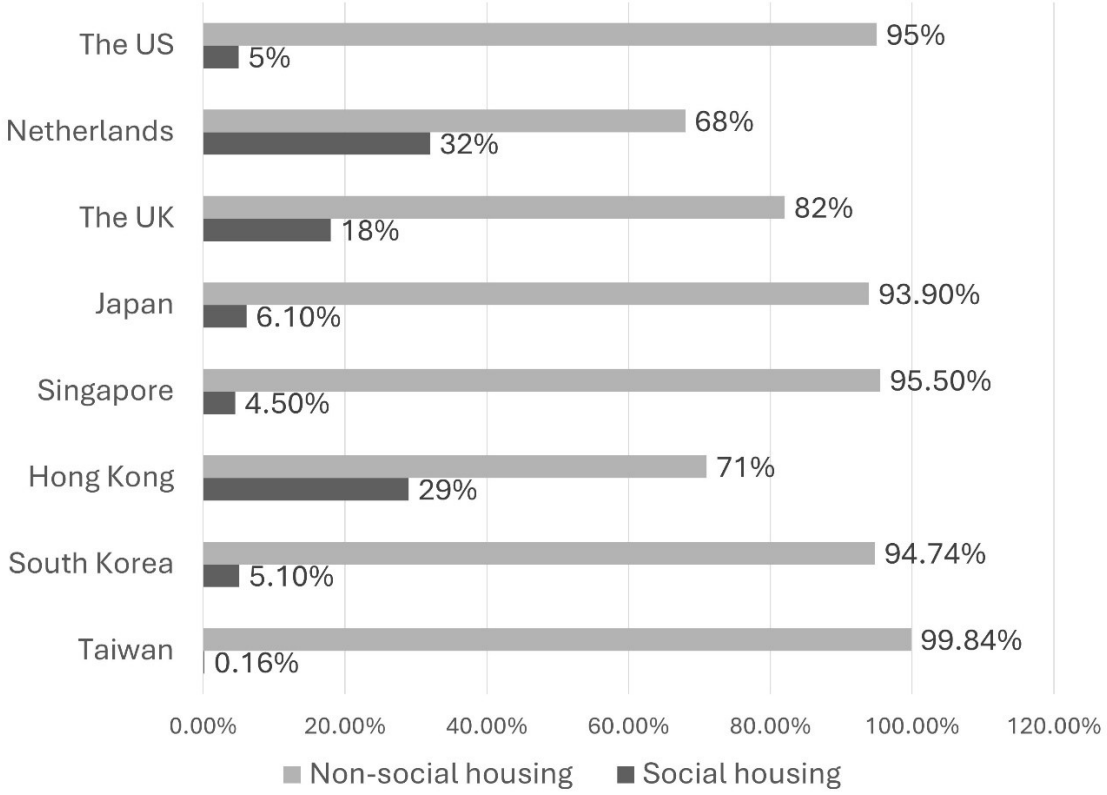

Figure 4 Comparison of social housing in the total housing supply in 2018
(Chen et al., 2019)

Regarding the unaffordable rental price of social housing units in Taiwan, local states exact a price for social housing units that is based on the rental price in the private market. The local states offer a small discount on the rental price of social housing, with a cap of being 20% cheaper under legislation (Chen et al., 2019; Liao, 2022). For example, Taipei's private shared

housing price was 290 GBP[3] monthly in 2023 (You & Lin, 2024). The same room type of social housing price in Taipei was 230 GBP after the 20% discount. However, in-work homeless people earned around 162 GBP monthly on average in Taipei in 2022 and possibly had the same earnings in 2023 (Shi & Li, 2022). This means that homeless people cannot afford the rent on social housing for them to remain there. Moreover, local states do not provide or end housing grants to tenants in social housing because this 20% discount is a type of housing grant (Ministry of Interior, 2021a, 2024a). Hence, the price of social housing is unaffordable to homeless people. This differs from the UK context, in which local councils may provide housing grants to homeless claimants, helping them stay in social housing (Homeless Link, 2021).

Regarding the lottery and the bidding system of social housing in Taiwan, local states use the lottery system as the primary approach, whereby social housing applicants complete a registration in order to have the chance to win social housing when 70% of the total social housing units are given in the system (Chen et al., 2019). This means that applicants could never move into social housing unless they win the lottery. The remaining 30% of social housing is only given to marginalised groups based on a bidding system. Local states give applicants 'points' to decide who is offered a house when the points are based on housing needs. However, homeless people in Taiwan have the lowest points in the system (The Taipei City Government, 2023), associated with the BOT contract, and homeless people are often unable to provide enough or a sufficiently stable income to cover maintenance costs (Huang & Dzeng, 2019; Liao, 2022). The lottery and the bidding system in Taiwan differ from those in the UK context in that homeless people only apply for social housing in the bidding system of social housing, and are prioritised for moving in (GOV.UK, 2024a).

In summary, the voluntary sector became a shadow state in Taiwan under the auspices of developmentalism in the pre-welfare state (1949 to 1995) and was reshaped by developmentalism under the welfare state (1995-). In both contexts, the state has shifted the responsibility for housing provision since 1949. The voluntary sector thus meets housing needs in precarity but without austerity in Taiwan. However, little literature exists that explores how actors and agencies within the shadow state in Taiwan respond to the difficulty of providing housing services to homeless people. I address this gap with my empirical findings in Chapters

[3] The exchange rate based on Xe (2024) on 5th July 2024.

4 and 5. In the following section, I examine the theoretical concept of *revanchism* (DeVerteuil et al., 2009; Smith, 1996) to further explore the characteristics of homeless policies in the shadow state of Taiwan under developmentalism.

2.2 Revanchism and Urban Homeless Management

Revanchism is a term used to characterise the political climate in cities in the US that are shaped by neoliberalism (Smith, 1996). The term revanchism is derived from the French *Revanche*, which refers to the historical event of the Paris Commune (1870-1871) in France, whereby the state co-opted capitalists based on the ethos of liberalism to attack and punish members of the Paris Commune, including mostly working-class people (Smith, 1996). Neil Smith (1996) uses this historical event to describe the political climate in cities in the US in the 1980s and 1990s, in which local states employed neoliberalism to co-opt capitalist investors to punish marginalised groups because they were not economically productive. Local states implemented policies for attacking and punishing marginalised groups, such as removing street homeless people and forcing them to escape to hidden places, including under bridges and in transportation and utility tunnels (Smith, 1996). Indeed, this zero-tolerant attitude towards marginalised groups was pervasive in cities in the US during the 1980s and 1990s. However, some of the existing literature argues that the voluntary sector has negotiated with the local states and successfully requested that they become more tolerant of homeless people and implement social policies to provide more accommodating homeless services (Cloke et al., 2010; DeVerteuil, 2019). For example, the state of Los Angeles appealed to the voluntary sector after the 2008 global financial crisis to implement accommodating policies for providing housing services to help homeless people (DeVerteuil, 2019).

However, the concept of revanchism, while initially rooted in Western contexts, has persisted and evolved, making it a globally relevant issue (Crossa, 2020). In East Asia, the political climate of revanchism in global cities does exist to some extent; however, it is shaped by developmentalism instead of neoliberalism alone (Jou et al., 2016; Waley, 2016). Yet, little of the existing literature has demonstrated a relationship between revanchism and developmentalism. This is a crucial area of study, and I use Taiwan as the case for exploring how the state's governance and homelessness echo revanchism in the East Asian context. This exploration is part of the first research question: How has the blend of neoliberalism and Confucianism in Taiwan shaped the complex relations between social policies and homeless

services for homeless people? I will answer this question by starting with the peculiar definition of homeless people in Taiwan as *wanderers* (遊民).

2.2.1 Defining Homeless People as Wanderers

A universally agreed definition of homelessness does not exist. This is because the characteristics of homelessness in the various countries are shaped differently by the economic, political, and cultural factors in local contexts that have developed through globalisation (UN-Habitat, 2000; United Nations, 2020b). However, the United Nations (UN) provides a broad definition in that *'homelessness is described as "a condition where a person or household lacks habitable space with security of tenure, rights and ability to enjoy social relations, including safety", and includes the following categories of people as those experiencing homelessness: people living on the streets or other open spaces; people living in temporary or crisis accommodation; people living in severely inadequate and insecure accommodation, such as slums or informal settlements; and people who lack access to affordable housing'* (2020: 2).

The variations in definitions of homelessness in the Global North have an impact on the priority given to homeless services under the legislation. For example, in the UK, the universal definition of homelessness given by Parliament is either of people experiencing 'rooflessness' (e.g., without a shelter of any kind, sleeping rough) or people 'living in' (1) temporary institutions/shelters, (2) insecure housing (e.g., threatened with severe exclusion due to insecure tenancies, eviction, domestic violence, or staying with family and friends known as sofa surfing), (3) inadequate housing (in caravans on illegal campsites, in unfit housing, in extreme overcrowding) (GOV.UK, 2019). Therefore, the development of social policies and homeless services in the UK tends to prioritise 'housing' services to help homeless people stay in accommodation supported by welfare benefits (Homeless Link, 2021). Then, agencies assist homeless people in developing social skills for employment so that they can move towards social inclusion (Richardson & Fellow, 2013; Wilson & Loft, 2021).

I define homelessness by using the European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010). Comparing homelessness in Taiwan with that in other advanced economies, including the UK and the US, helps to establish a common ground. In the typology, homelessness is defined as the lack of physical, social, and legal domains, as

shown below (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010): A person is not living in a decent dwelling (or space) adequate to meet the needs of the person and his/her family (physical domain); being unable to maintain privacy and enjoy social relations (social domain); having no exclusive possession, security of occupation and legal title (legal domain). Whilst the definition of homelessness in European Typology is based on individual poor 'living' conditions, the definition of homelessness in Taiwan seems to emphasise the various instances of individuals 'wandering' in public spaces as wanderers.

Taiwan has no universal homelessness definition under the legislation that the Parliament (i.e., the Legislative Yuan) implements. Each local state formulates its own policies to define homeless people, which leads to a variety of definitions of homelessness in Taiwan. In Taipei, the legal definition of homelessness is that *'In the law, wanderers [homeless people] are defined as people who constantly stay in public spaces or places where people commute'* (The Guideline for Wanderer Accommodation in Taipei City, 2014). This is the only definition given by the local state. This broad definition is contested, as it only includes people experiencing rooflessness (e.g., street homelessness) but excludes people living in precarity (e.g., hidden homelessness), such as those with insecure tenancies, who have been evicted, or have suffered domestic violence. In addition, the Taipei state defines homeless people as 'wanderers', referring to people experiencing rooflessness mainly because of unemployment (Pan, 2006, 2009). In so doing, agencies in Taipei usually prioritise job training and employment services for homeless people to assist them in acquiring regular earnings to pay for accommodation. However, most homeless people are asked by the Taipei state to achieve this without having housing and low-income grants (Huang, 2019). For example, over half of the statutory homeless people in Taipei have paid work as in-work homeless people, but over 70% of them do not receive any governmental grants (Shi & Li, 2022).

The legal term of *wanderer* (遊民) emerged in 1945 (Huang, 2021a). Throughout the pre-welfare state (1949-1995), the meaning of wanderers referred to 'suspicious individuals' who were possibly potential communist spies under the legislation (i.e., The Law of Managing Deserters and Wanderers in Taiwan) (臺灣省取締散兵遊民辦法, 1950). In the legislation, suspicious individuals meant people who stayed in public spaces without official identity cards or street vending certificates and were usually considered as potential communist spies and criminals; they included gangs, military personnel for desertion, beggars, illegal street vendors, people with a particular political ideology (i.e., communism), and disabled deserters (臺灣省取締散兵

遊民辦法, 1950). Suspicious individuals may also have referred to people with mental or physical disabilities who were constantly on the streets, which is associated with the stigma of being economically unproductive and lazy (Lin, 2012). The state used its police force to arrest suspicious individuals and check if they had criminal records. A financial penalty was usually imposed on such suspicious individuals, or they were referred to prison-like public homeless shelters that lacked health and social care provision (Lin, 2012). This meant that homeless services were institutionalised to punish homeless people based on the stigma against them as potential communist spies. On the other hand, the stigma was intertwined with laziness under developmentalism (Huang, 2019). As a result, institutionalised homeless services were shaped by the stigma of being potential communist spies who are also economically unproductive into being self-reliant through earnings. I claim that these local contexts shaped revanchism in the pre-welfare state of Taiwan to criminalise homeless people.

During the period of Taiwan's welfare state (1995), the definition of homeless people and revanchism was reshaped. First, voluntary organisations campaigned for decriminalising homeless people in the early 1990s. Then, the institutionalised homeless services of the prison-like public shelters were changed under an amendment of the legislation in 1997(Lin, 2012). In the amended legislation, the Department of Social Welfare, instead of the Department of Police, oversaw homeless services. This indicates that homeless services were a type of social care service, instead of a means of criminal rehabilitation, to decriminalise homeless people in Taiwan. This decriminalisation adheres to the de-institutionalisation of homeless services. The Department of Social Welfare strengthened its collaboration with community groups and non-profit organisations to provide homeless services, such as outreach, health and social care referrals, homeless shelters, job training, and employment (Huang, 2021a).

The incentive to motivate the voluntary sector to conduct the de-institutionalisation of homeless services was related more to the positive anticipation of engaging in civic participation for social justice in the 'young' democratic regime. However, local states have continued to provide a small amount of governmental funding for homeless services (Li, 2016). In comparison with the US, this de-institutionalisation in Taiwan seems to differ in that the US provided significant government funding for homeless services as an 'incentive' in the 1960s to shift the responsibility of homeless services to communities and then experienced austerity and reduced homeless budgets in the 1980s (Dear & Wolch, 1987).

Moreover, in Taiwan, the incentive driven by the anticipation of civic participation in democracy is intersected by the slowly increasing but insufficient homeless budgets, which makes the provision of homeless services precarious. For example, the Taipei City Government allocated around 1.05 million GBP[4] for all homeless services to work with community groups and non-profit organisations in 2019. This budget was the highest in history, and was double that of the rest of Taiwan's cities (Huang, 2021b), when the total number of statutory homeless people in Taipei was 821 in 2019 (Executive Yuan, 2024b). Hence, it is possible that the Taipei City Government was spending about 1,237 GBP for each statutory homeless person in 2019, whilst the annual price of shared accommodation in Taipei (e.g., 16.5 m^2) was around 1,872 GBP on average in the same year (Yu, 2019). This means the government grant for homeless services in Taipei is insufficient. In comparison, the Los Angeles City Government allocated the equivalent of around 334.6 million GBP in the same year, while the total number of homeless people was around 36,300 (LAHSA, 2019; The City of Los Angeles, 2020). This means the City of Los Angeles may have spent about 9,218 GBP on each homeless person in 2019, which is over seven times more than the spending by Taipei. In short, the voluntary sector provides community-based homeless services precariously in the Taipei shadow state, despite the absence of explicit calls for austerity within homeless policy.

I have examined the existing literature, demonstrating that Taiwan's state governance and homelessness echo revanchism. The area of revanchism and homelessness in Taiwan is understudied. The existing literature reveals the historical context of defining and redefining homeless people as wanderers, criminalising and decriminalising homeless people, and institutionalising and de-institutionalising homeless services. However, a significant gap exists in understanding revanchism and homelessness in Taiwan under developmentalism. For example, there is little existing literature to demonstrate the complexity of local governance in providing homeless services, involving the ambivalent attitudes of the state and the voluntary sector towards providing punitive homeless services. I will demonstrate empirical evidence in Chapters 5 and 6, in order to explore the relationships between homelessness, revanchism, and the shadow state in Taiwan to address this gap.

[4] The exchange rate is based on Xe (2024) on 5th July 2024.

Exploring Confucianism in local contexts is necessary to comprehend how Confucianism, coupled with neoliberalism, shapes local governance on homelessness under developmentalism. In the following section, I will examine how the state conducts social control to manage homeless people as *poverty management* in Taiwan's welfare state under developmentalism.

In summary, revanchism with Taiwanese characteristics exists and is shaped by Taiwan's autocratic regime (1945-1991) and its democratic one (since 1991). This local revanchism influences the ways of managing homeless people in Taiwan as the Taiwanese version of poverty management. First, the state co-opted with the wealthy classes and private sector investors in Taiwan's autocratic regime. They engaged in capitalist economic production, exacerbating social and economic inequalities. In this context, the primary approach to managing homeless people in the authoritarian regime was intensely punitive, such as sending homeless people into prison-like homeless shelters with little social and health care support (Huang, 2019). Second, the autocratic regime was anti-communist, which shaped the characteristics of Taiwanese revanchism and poverty management. For example, the Taiwanese state included homeless people who were potential threats as communist spies from China (Lin, 2012). On the other hand, this autocratic regime was also influenced by Confucianism to shape poverty management for homeless people with Confucian characteristics in Taiwan (Lin, 2012).

For example, the Taiwanese state employed the Confucian discourse of mutual family support to return homeless people to their homes, often after homeless shelters. By this, the state also enabled the use of Confucian discourse as an 'excuse' to shift welfare responsibility to marginalised groups, as the approach to prioritising economic production with little welfare budgets under developmentalism (Park et al., 2012). Although it differs from the Western context of the downloaded welfare responsibility to individuals (Power & Skinner, 2019), it has some similarities. In this context, the state facilitated the misuse of neoliberal discourses as the 'superior knowledge' from the West, allowing Confucian discourses to be fused with neoliberal ones for social and economic development, characterized by minimal welfare expenditures, within the autocratic regime (1945-1991).

Finally, after Taiwan transformed into a democratic regime in 1991, the regime reshaped Taiwanese characteristics of revanchism and poverty management. The punitive service of

sending homeless people to prison-like shelters ended, and was achieved by advocacy from Taiwan's voluntary sector in the late 1990s (Lin, 2012). However, Taiwan's state used a neoliberal-like discourse to build a parasitic relationship with the voluntary sector for homeless services provision, such as shifting the responsibility of homeless services to the voluntary sector to develop local partnerships to provide the services. It differs from the UK context during the New Labour government (1997-2010) (Power & Hall, 2018). This is because Taiwan's voluntary sector did not appear to have experienced a sharp increase in governmental funding as an incentive for providing homeless services. Instead, the 'first' civic participation in Taiwan's democratic regime seems to be the greater incentive to encourage the voluntary sector in Taiwan to take the leading role in providing homeless services (Huang, 2021a; Li, 2016).

However, this neoliberal process did not lead to austerity policies on welfare expenditures in Taiwan. This is because welfare expenditures were low during the previous autocratic regime, which was based on anti-communism and Confucianism, as mentioned above. Instead, it is accompanied by gradually increasing welfare budgets for housing, health, and social care services in this neoliberal process of shifting responsibility for homeless services to the Taiwanese voluntary sector. I argue that this is a characteristic of the Taiwanese shadow state, shaped by the East Asian dynamics of the fusion of Confucianism and neoliberalism.

Nevertheless, this does not mean Taiwan's voluntary sector has enough budget to provide adequate services to homeless people. Instead, the voluntary sector provides homeless services in precarity, such as relatively low-paid and long-hour work, with slowly increasing government funding. Nevertheless, based on my findings in Chapter 6, Taiwan's voluntary sector is generally optimistic about providing better housing, health, and social care services to homeless people for several reasons. On the one hand, government funding for social welfare has increased since the late 1980s, a notable development that marks the beginning of the neoliberal development of the universal welfare system in Taiwan (from the pre-welfare state) (Chen & Li, 2012; Tsai, 2016). In this context, Taiwan's voluntary sector typically feels optimistic about its homeless service provision, given the gradual increase in government funding. On the other hand, Taiwan's voluntary sector initially took charge of homeless services from the early 1990s, following Taiwan's transition to democracy (Lin, 2012). In this regard, Taiwan's homeless sector is in the early stages of development, prompting the voluntary sector to actively learn from other advanced economies and create innovative homeless services, with

the goal of achieving better service outcomes (see Chapter 6). My research findings in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will further explain these phenomena. contribute to the Global East model (Shin et al., 2016), which frames the East Asian theoretical framework to explore the complexities of homelessness in Taiwan as a case study in East Asia.

In the next section, I will explore how Confucianism influences poverty management at the city scale (Taipei), leading to the development of family-based and employment-led homeless services. This facilitates a further exploration of the Taiwanese characteristics of revanchism and poverty management. In Section 2.3.1, I will examine how hybrid governance, shaped by neoliberalism and Confucianism, is implemented in the local partnership between the state and the voluntary sector to manage homeless individuals. I will explain how this hybrid governance is shaped by the Taiwanese characteristics of *revanchism* (Smith, 1996, 2002) and *poverty management* (DeVerteuil, 2006; DeVerteuil et al., 2009) for contributions.

2.3 Poverty Management

Poverty management refers to organised responses by the state and elites (e.g., the wealthy classes and property investors) to manage marginalised groups in order to maintain social order (Baker et al., 2020; DeVerteuil et al., 2009; Wolch & DeVerteuil, 2003). For example, the US government in the late 1980s worked with the wealthy classes and property investors to formulate strategies to discipline marginalised groups to be self-reliant by providing work-oriented services under neoliberalism, such as job training, employment, and income maintenance (Wolch & DeVerteuil, 2003). In addition, poverty management is shaped by a series of *unsynchronised* time-space dynamics, including de-institutionalised care services, welfare responsibility downloaded to the voluntary sector, and decreased welfare budgets. These dynamics undermine the care services' therapeutic value for social inclusion (DeVerteuil et al., 2009). For example, the US local states usually manage homeless people by providing ineffective care services to mobilise them within the cycle of institutional settings, such as homeless shelters, hospitals, and, eventually, prisons (DeVerteuil, 2003). Some urban studies on poverty management claim that collective welfare provision and consumption in public places were collapsing when local states employed neoliberal ideas to control marginalised groups (Davis, 2006; Smith, 1996).

However, DeVerteuil et al. (2009) question whether public places were collapsing when local states implemented poverty management under neoliberalism. They shed light on poverty management for homeless people in cities undertaken in 'complex' public spaces. The complexity of the public spaces indicates that both local contexts and globalisation shape the public spaces to become uncertain and complicated. Hence, the state cannot complete neoliberalisation in cities, as neoliberal ideas do not suit or even contradict local contexts (DeVerteuil, 2015). For example, in Los Angeles, the scale of street homelessness rose to unprecedented numbers after the 2008 financial crisis. However, the voluntary sector, embedded in non-profit and altruistic values, negotiated with the state to provide more accommodating accommodation for homeless people. Eventually, a remarkable tolerance of homeless people was engendered by the state, and a housing programme initiative (e.g., Housing First programmes) was embarked on providing more accommodating housing services to homeless people (DeVerteuil, 2019).

Nevertheless, East Asian studies on poverty management in public spaces are underdeveloped, and it is unclear how complex these configurations are. The is little existing literature demonstrating poverty management and public urban spaces in East Asia when the state is under developmentalism in terms of efforts to intervene strongly in economic development and shift the welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector and engage with market mechanisms. For example, the existing literature demonstrates that the East Asian states employed a neoliberal discourse to implement punitive workfare policies to punish homeless people (Huang, 2019; Iwata, 2010; Kennett & Iwata, 2003; Pan, 2006; Song, 2006, 2008). However, the literature does not explain how East Asian states reconcile the contradiction of developmentalism and neoliberalism by employing the idea of big government for economic production but also using the concept of small government for welfare provision to implement and perpetuate punitive policies regarding homeless people.

Confucianism is crucial in reconciling the contradiction between a big government economy and small government welfare provision. Mutual family welfare support and familial harmony are required in a Confucian society, which is being achieved mainly by a family with little support from the government (see 1.1.1). As mentioned above, Confucianism is a type of governance that puts the nation's interests before those of individuals in a hierarchical political system, emphasising consensus and conformity as signs of respect. In this collective relationship between the nation and individuals, the state might oppose the market for

collective well-being. On the other hand, Confucianism is the conventional care ethic, in which individual well-being must be met by the collective familial welfare provision by family members mutually supported by the state. Confucian care ethics is possibly a double-edged sword that prevents the neoliberalisation of individual welfare responsibility from being completed; however, it perpetuates certain features of the neoliberalisation of individual welfare responsibility. This means that the Confucian care ethics of collective familial welfare provision does not, on the one hand, suit neoliberal welfare for families and, on the other, echoes the downloading of welfare responsibility to families. This contradiction echoes Ulrich Beck's theoretical concept of *varieties of Second Modernity* in East Asia involving *individualisation without individualism* (Beck, 2016; Beck & Grande, 2010). Also, this possible scenario refers to *variegated neoliberalisation* (Brenner et al., 2010), in that East Asian countries may use Confucian governance to develop a capitalist economy while using Confucian care ethics as a form of governmentality to shift welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector. However, there is little in the existing East Asian literature that demonstrates empirical evidence of exploring the complex relationships between Confucian governance and care ethics, the shadow state, and urban poverty.

The East Asian literature on poverty management in complex public spaces is understudied. Hence, in the following section, I will use the existing literature on homeless services in Taiwan to examine the characteristics of employment-led homeless services instead of the Western context of housing-led homeless services. This was deemed to be the most effective approach to exploring the relationships between poverty management, neoliberalism, and Confucianism in East Asia.

2.3.1 Employment-led Homeless Services in Taiwan

In the Western context, homeless services centre around accommodation and are supported by different types of homeless services, such as outreach, care, skills training, education, and employment (Johnsen & Teixeira, 2010; Pleace, 2018; Tainio & Fredriksson, 2009; Wilson & Loft, 2021; Woodhall-Melnik & Dunn, 2016). Using the UK context as an example, homeless services there are usually provided in the pattern of the *staircase model* (Richardson & Fellow, 2013; Tainio & Fredriksson, 2009; Wilson & Loft, 2021). In the staircase model, homeless people usually have 'housing-led' services, from shelters leading to the complete security of housing tenure supported by different homeless services (see Figure 5). In comparison, homeless

services in Taiwan emphasise employment, supported by accommodation, outreach, and health and social care as employment-led services (see Figure 6). The existing literature demonstrates that homeless services in Taiwan usually adhere to the priority of job training and employment (Huang, 2021b; Lin, 2012; Pan, 2009). This phenomenon of employment-led homeless services in Taiwan is associated with the stigma that economically unproductive individuals are usually regarded as disrespectful (Pan, 2006, 2009). In addition, employment-led homeless services are related to a few governmental grants for homeless people who must be employed for self-reliance (Huang, 2021a). However, the existing literature barely demonstrates the relationships between employment-led services and Confucian care ethics under the legislation (Civil Code, 2021).

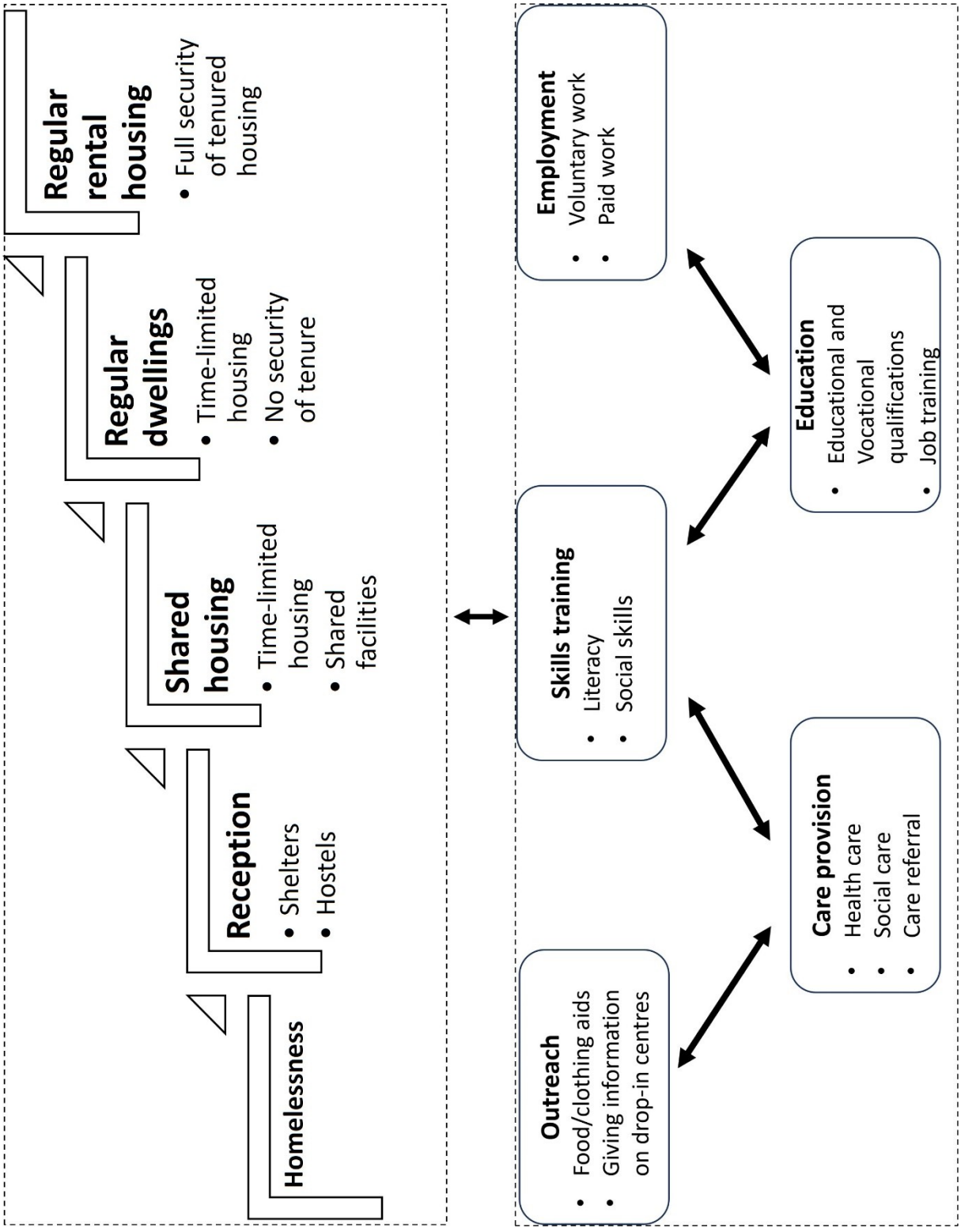

Figure 5 Housing-led homeless services in the UK
(Richardson & Fellow, 2013; Wilson & Loft, 2021)

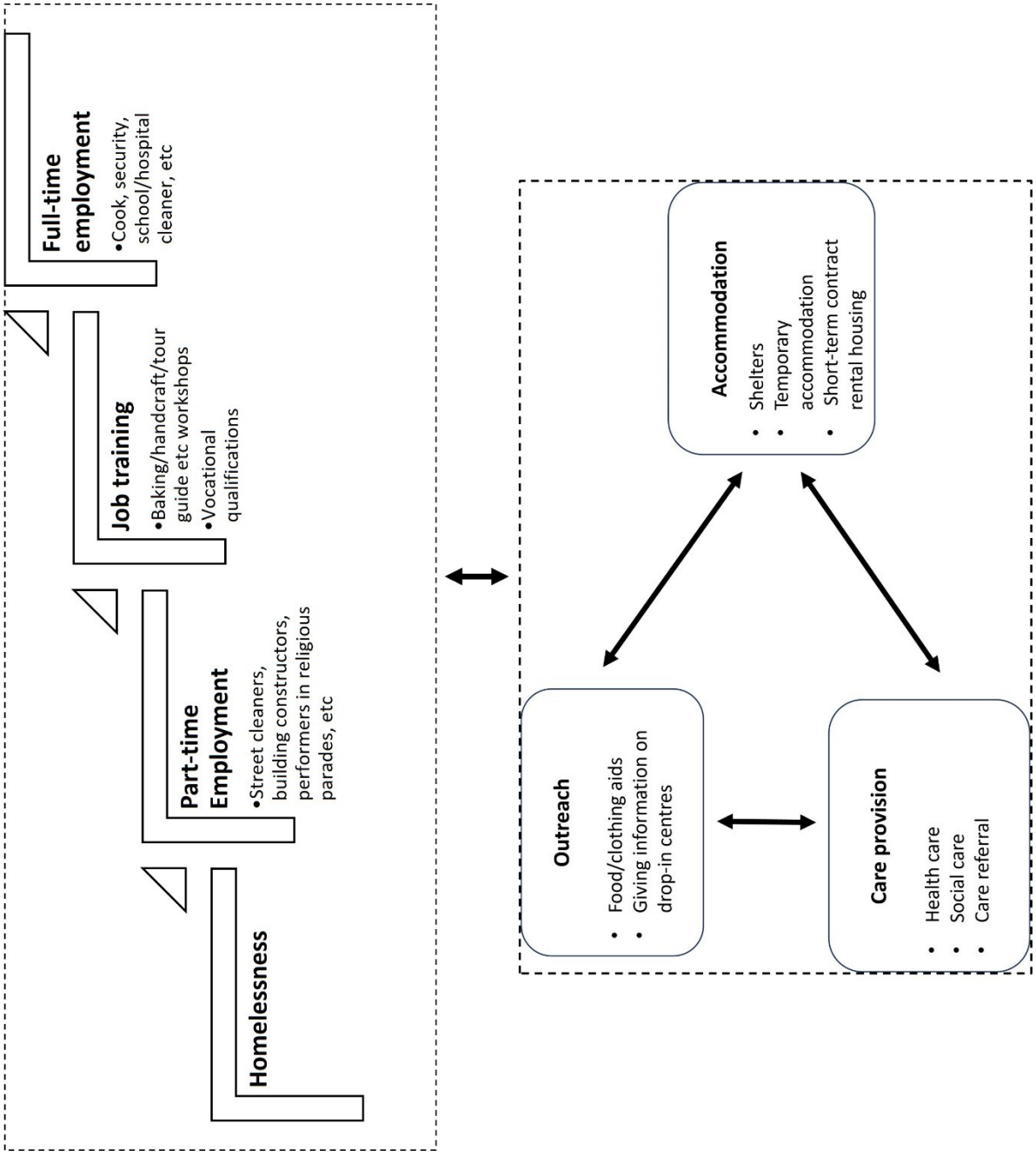

Figure 6 Employment-led homeless services in Taiwan
(Huang, 2021a; Shi & Li, 2022; Li, 2016)

Confucian care ethics are legalised under the Civil Code (2021) in Taiwan as *maintenance* (扶養義務) and have been since 1949. The Civil Code requires individuals to fulfil mutual familial obligations to meet family members' welfare needs, including children, parents, grandparents, siblings, spouses, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law, and parents-in-law. Indeed, mutual familial obligations in Taiwan are based on blood-degree relationships and marriage, known as *maintenance*. In comparison, maintenance laws in English-speaking countries differ from those in Taiwan. In English-speaking countries, maintenance laws refer to individuals' responsibility for mainly their (ex) spouses' and children's financial and welfare support (Boele-Woelki et al., 2004). This means the maintenance laws in English-speaking countries are only based on an individual marriage without a blood-degree relationship. Culturally, in Taiwan, the maintenance legislation is associated with the core value of Confucian care ethics, filial piety (孝順), as the traditional care ethic. Confucian care ethics refer to the welfare responsibility shouldered by junior family members to senior ones, especially children and parents (Lin & Yi, 2013). In contrast, this Confucian care ethic seems not to exist in English-speaking countries (Goodman et al., 1998).

However, the maintenance legislation in Taiwan is potentially problematic for homeless people, whilst homeless people may experience family conflicts as the victims of domestic violence and child abuse or the perpetrators of it (Shi & Li, 2022; Taipei City Government, 2019). Hence, it would be difficult for homeless people to meet their welfare demands mainly through mutual familial obligations. In addition, the maintenance legislation is a problem that makes homeless people unable to access the welfare system to receive governmental grants. For example, over 70% of statutory homeless people in Taipei had no governmental grants for survival, which is associated with the inaccessible welfare system under the maintenance legislation (Shi & Li, 2022). This indicates that the maintenance legislation under developmentalism shapes employment-led services and punitive policies for homeless people in Taiwan.

Therefore, while, in theory, the maintenance legislation in Taiwan stops the neoliberalisation of individual welfare responsibility, it nonetheless downloads welfare responsibility to families. In addition, the maintenance legislation is a determining factor in making the voluntary sector ambivalent towards employment-led homeless services. For example, voluntary organisations campaigned to amend social policies to loosen the strong relationship between obligations and welfare benefits to make the welfare system more accessible for homeless people (Legislative Yuan, 2023). Conversely, some voluntary organisations agree on the importance of the maintenance legislation and employment-led services to help employed homeless people

repair their broken familial relationships (Yan, 2023). It is worth exploring how the voluntary sector reconciles this tension and provides non-profit homeless services altruistically in Taiwan. My Chapters 4, 5, and 6 demonstrate empirical evidence in relation to exploring the complexity of homeless people's and agencies' perspectives on poverty management in Taiwan.

Taiwan's welfare state under developmentalism has experienced state-led industrialisation and the transfer of welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector. However, Taiwan's welfare state does not seem to have experienced the (Western) Keynesian style of collective consumption and welfare provision. In this case, even though individuals can adapt and respond to the eroding effects of uneven and globalised capitalism through the persistence of collective actions as resilience (Cloke et al., 2010; DeVerteuil, 2015; Katz, 2004), individuals in Taiwan are possibly not driven by the desire for the (Western) Keynesian style of collective consumption and welfare provision for carrying out such actions for change. Instead, it is possible that people in Taiwan are motivated by the desire to continue the moral and legal duty of helping family members meet welfare needs. It aims for collective familial well-being under Confucianism. However, this duty is difficult to fulfil because the state encourages families to realise the duty mainly through market mechanisms under neoliberalism.

This means that the Confucian ideal of collective familial well-being is a merit that motivates people to make changes to preserve familial well-being in Taiwan's landscape of homelessness. However, the Confucian ideal may be shaped by the neoliberal notion that asking homeless people to meet their welfare needs with their families in the market is a 'threat'. I argue that this hybrid governance partially replicates revanchism (Smith, 1996, 2002) with Confucian characteristics, as underpinned by the findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5. On the one hand, the Taiwanese government co-opts the market to require homeless people to be self-sufficient through earnings, with limited government grants (Li, 2019; Pan, 2006, 2009). On the other hand, public-sector agencies (e.g., police, social workers, and chiefs of the villages) often sweep homeless people into public spaces (e.g., parks and train stations) without providing housing services (Huang, 2019, 2021a; Li, 2016). This is similar to the political climate based on neoliberalism, as referred to by Neil Smith (1996, 2002), However, in some revanchist cities of the US, homeless people are not really tolerated in public spaces, but 'hidden' or 'moved on' (Davis, 2006). By contrast, the Taiwanese government requires homeless people and their family members to be self-sufficient 'collectively' under the legislation (Public Assistance Act, 2015). The legislation requires a homeless person and his/her family members, including parents, grandparents, children, grandchildren, and spouses, to be self-sufficient collectively

through mutual financial support. Indeed, mutual financial support for family well-being is a significant part of Confucian care ethics in Taiwan (Lin, 2012). In this context, revanchism is further shaped by Confucian care ethics to become the hybrid governance for punishing homeless people and their family members.

For example, based on the findings in Chapters 4 and 5, 'returning' homeless people to their homes is the primary approach for homeless services in Taiwan. Housing-based homeless services are provided in many welfare states in the West (Johnsen & Teixeira, 2010; Wilson & Loft, 2021), whist it is only emerging and barely exists in Taiwan. Family-based homeless services are the primary requirement of legislation (Huang, 2021b; Lin, 2012; Pan, 2006), including (1) the initial service of contacting homeless people's family members to return them home, (2) providing homeless shelters for homeless people to repair their broken kinship with aids, and (3) ending the legal duty of mutual welfare support (i.e. the legal duty of maintenance) to access social care system, such as applying for homeless grants (i.e., the low-income family grants). The local context of homeless services is a significant aspect of Taiwanese characteristics, particularly embedded in revanchism in Taiwan. The relevant findings on the aforementioned Taiwanese characteristics of revanchism will be demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5.

On the other hand, family-based homeless services are also crucial in shaping the Taiwanese characteristics of *poverty management* (DeVerteuil, 2006; DeVerteuil et al., 2009), usually conducted in a partnership between the state and the voluntary sector in Taiwan. First, while returning homeless people to their homes is the ultimate aim of homeless services in Taiwan under the legislation (Huang, 2021b). Homeless people in Taiwan are often encouraged to contact their families to return home in collaboration with homeless services workers. Second, in the process of contacting and repairing homeless people's kinship, adequate housing services are barely provided for them due to local factors, including overpriced rent prices and insufficient social housing. Hence, homeless people are often encouraged to engage in work primarily within the informal economy to survive, which is why homeless services in Taiwan are employment-led, as mentioned above.

Finally, this punitive homeless service is intertwined with the supportive characteristic that many homeless people tend to continue their kinship with their family as a motive for survival. Based on my findings in Chapters 4 and 5, this supportive characteristic helps some homeless individuals eventually repair and return to their homes. This is related to the mutual family support that individuals in Taiwan tend to live with their families collectively, rather than

individually, prioritising family ties over individual freedom. In short, *poverty management* (DeVerteuil, 2006; DeVerteuil et al., 2009) in Taiwan exists, but it is shaped by local contexts to have some supportive characteristics embedded in the family-based homeless services mentioned above.

However, this does not mean that mutual family support under Confucian care ethics is purely supportive and constitutes a significant merit in Taiwan. Instead, mutual family support exhibits some punitive characteristics, as demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5. This also helps respond to examiners' feedback No. 1 on the interpretation of the punitive and supportive characteristics of Taiwan's homeless services. First, people who experience domestic violence and then homelessness may be returned home to meet their welfare needs through mutual family support. This means they may be abused again by their family members after this. Second, the Taiwanese government often uses mutual family support as an excuse to perpetually refuse to shoulder welfare responsibilities, citing Confucian customs. Finally, the Confucian idea of self-sufficiency through mutual family support may be misleadingly referred to by the government, as this notion of self-sufficiency echoes neoliberal care ethics of individual self-sufficiency as 'good' ideas from the West, perhaps related to postcolonialism. Consequently, based on the findings in Chapters 4 and 5, neoliberal and Confucian ideas have fused in the East Asian spatial dynamics, resulting in the integration of Confucianism with punitive characteristics in shaping homeless services in Taiwan. Repeatedly, these are the Taiwanese characteristics of poverty management that contribute to the relevant literature (Baker et al., 2020; DeVerteuil & Wilton, 2009).

2.4 Resilience, Service Hubs, and Hope

2.4.1 Resilience

The term *resilience* is an academic and political buzzword, as there has been a dramatic rise in its use since 2000 (Brown, 2014; DeVerteuil, 2015). DeVerteuil (2015)conceptualises resilience as both 'social' (Katz, 2004) and 'spatial' (Newman & Wyly, 2006; Wrigley & Dolega, 2011). Social resilience (Katz, 2004) refers to the individual capacity for responding to the eroding effects of uneven and globalised capitalism in adaptation. In such adaptation, individuals provide and receive care and mutual aid for survival in difficult circumstances. The overthrow of oppressive systems seems impossible but desirable. Therefore, individuals may continuously adapt their tactics to live in social resilience (Katz, 2004). Using the case in the village of Howa, Jordan, as an example, when an economic project (i.e., the Suki Project) began in the village, it

caused a difficult circumstance in which young people migrated to other places for work. However, the older people in the village had insufficient capacity for farming. Declining agricultural productivity and further deskilling occurred in the area. Nevertheless, the residents in the village formulated a strategy involving traditional agrarian production (e.g., rain-fed sorghum cultivation) to alleviate poverty, thus exhibiting social resilience (Katz, 2004). In other words, marginalised groups tend to exit difficult situations instead of enduring it (Katz, 2004). For example, my findings show that homeless individuals in Taiwan tend to exit homelessness in the resilience process as the 'getting by' (Katz, 2004) instead of enduring homelessness.Spatial resilience refers to the persistence of clusters of agencies in cities (Deverteuil, 2012; Martin, 2012; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Wrigley & Dolega, 2011). Economically, spatial resilience involves retail clusters responding to economic recessions in the global economy (Martin, 2012; Wrigley & Dolega, 2011). Using the UK experience as an example, an economic recession in town centres occurred after the global financial crisis (2007-2009), whilst the progressive rise of online retailing has substituted effects on certain types of town-centre retailers as a response to the economic recession (Wrigley & Dolega, 2011). Spatial resilience also involves the voluntary sector's responses (e.g., families, communities, and voluntary organisations) to gentrification and displacement (Deverteuil, 2012; Newman & Wyly, 2006). Using the US experience as an example, the state continued the political salience of gentrification and the displacement of homeless people, whilst the community organisers and residents created an array of methods to negotiate gentrification and displacement. The negotiation included the advocacy of selective deregulation and market-oriented social policy (Newman & Wyly, 2006). In short, spatial resilience can inform adaptation by a cluster of firms or voluntary organisations to adversity and external pressure from global recessions or gentrification and displacement (DeVerteuil, 2015).

In addition, resilience must coexist with a threat to actors' or agencies' daily lives while the threat develops in places shaped by neoliberalism in globalisation (DeVerteuil, 2015). Whilst the development of neoliberalism is never completed, the coexistence of resilience and the threat will evolve (DeVerteuil et al., 2020; Peck & Theodore, 2019a). For example, after the 2008 financial crisis, the voluntary sector appealed to the local state in Los Angeles to be more tolerant of homeless people and provide more accommodating housing services. The voluntary sector negotiated with the local state to, eventually, implement a housing programme to improve housing services provision (DeVerteuil, 2019). Furthermore, resilience involves residual arrangements, with some positive residues before the state-employed neoliberal discourses on welfare shape the welfare state (DeVerteuil, 2015). For instance, in the UK context, the residual arrangements of the welfare state usually mean welfare services provided in the Keynesian welfare states (from the late 1940s to the early 1980s), referring to the state giving welfare

services under the discourse of collective employment and consumption supported by social housing, universal health care, and a social care system with sufficient governmental funding (DeVerteuil, 2015; Pinch, 1997). Indeed, the residual arrangements of Keynesian welfare states support the voluntary sector in negotiating with the state to provide homeless services (DeVerteuil, 2015).

Moreover, resilience involves individuals' adaptive capacity to make a change (DeVerteuil, 2015). Adaptive capacity means individuals can learn, experiment with, and foster innovative solutions in complex circumstances, when the individual's adaptive capacity is determined by a range of resources (technical, financial, social, institutional, political) held individually and collectively in a local context (Power et al., 2019). Hence, resilience is more than 'bouncing back' to a similar or original position as before or solely 'persisting'. Instead, resilience imparts a sense of adaptive capacity, pro-activity, and potential for learning and finding new trajectories (DeVerteuil, 2015; Power et al., 2019). Therefore, marginalised groups could learn how to adapt to complex circumstances through their previous experiences and their everyday practices in cities (DeVerteuil et al., 2020).

There is an emerging literature on resilience and homelessness in East Asia (DeVerteuil et al., 2022a; Toshio et al., 2023). However, there is little East Asian literature on the relationships between developmentalism and resilience involving the threat of neoliberalism, residual arrangements, and individual adaptive capacity. There is a lack of evidence exploring the factors that stopped the completion of neoliberalism in East Asia. Also, there is little evidence with which to examine the characteristics of resilience in East Asia that influence the voluntary sector's negotiation with the state for changing homeless services. My empirical evidence in Taiwan, as demonstrated in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, provides some nuances for contributions. Alongside examining what resilience is in the geographies of homelessness, I will review the existing literature on a cluster of voluntary organisations as a *service hub* to narrow the focus on how agencies provide services and negotiate with the state to alleviate homelessness within cities in terms of resilience.

I have defined the *resilience of the residuals* (DeVerteuil, 2015) above. The reason why I employ this concept to explore the complexities of homelessness in Taiwan is that I draw on 'institutional resilience' (Rajan & Duncan, 2013) as a part of this resilient concept (DeVerteuil, 2015) for the exploration. Institutional resilience refers to small and incremental social change initiated through small-scale institutions, such as community groups and a cluster of non-profit organisations (Rajan & Duncan, 2013). This does not mean that Taiwan's voluntary sector had

its heydays as the motive to bounce back to the previous stage, supported by a significant amount of government funding, as the UK's voluntary sector experienced during the New Labour government's welfare reform (Power & Skinner, 2019). Instead, institutional resilience in the Taiwanese context means that voluntary-sector organisations can persevere in providing homeless support without reliance on government funding, motivated and initiated to help homeless people achieve social inclusion. Also, this is less related to the development of anarchist resistance and resilience (MacLeavy et al., 2021; Pickerill, 2017) as the focus is on exploring institutional resilience in Taiwan. Instead, this relates more to examining the similarity of the parasitic partnership between the state and the voluntary sector, shaped by neoliberal factors (Fyfe & Milligan, 2003), but with different factors in the Taiwanese context. My research helps to explore the possible transformative partnership from the parasitic into the interdependent or even autonomous care provision led by the voluntary sector (DeVerteuil et al., 2020) in the Global North and East Asian context.

The reason to use this small-scale focus to explore Taiwanese characteristics of homelessness's landscape is to contribute to the three main ideas of the *resilience of the residuals* (DeVerteuil & Golubchikov, 2016), such as resilience that can sustain 'alternative practices'; urban resilience is 'not a passive condition' and acts as 'the precursor'. Firstly, resilience can be applied to the residuals of a previous and more equitable power structure (DeVerteuil & Golubchikov, 2016). Instead of the Keynesian relics (e.g., social housing, non-commodified clusters of the voluntary sector, and the social economy) (DeVerteuil, 2015), the 'Confucian' relics in Taiwan's landscape of homelessness seem to be more precise in describing the Taiwanese residual resilience. Based on my findings in Chapters 4 and 6, the Confucian relics referred to 'relatively affordable private housing', which was afforded by individual earnings in the social economy and supported by mutual family assistance and aid from non-profit organisations.

Secondly, a few findings in this research show that the residuals in Taiwanese resilience and Confucian relics refer less to the previous stage of sufficient housing before 1943, when the US air force bombarded and destroyed it. Instead, the findings refer more to 'the good old days' of the rapid growth of individual incomes to buy or rent housing at an affordable price in the 1980s and the 1990s, which is the first wave of the neoliberal process involving capital investments in the semiconductor sector and housing property encouraged by Taiwan's state, while the state also deregulated financial policies to allow international investors for these investments (Hsu, 2006; Tsai, 2001). In this context, sufficient social housing is not a desirable relic, as it differs from the Western world. It is underpinned by the fact that Taiwan's first social housing-related

Act was implemented in 2012. After the policy was implemented, the state of Taiwan initially provided social housing rental (Chen et al., 2019).

Lastly, based on my findings in Chapter 5, the important characteristic of the Confucian relic shaping Taiwan's homelessness landscape is the prevalence of sufficient, affordable private living spaces for mutual family support rather than social housing. Because social housing units in Taiwan are 'new', mostly constructed after 2012, they are often less affordable than private housing. In this context, Taiwan's voluntary-sector organisations pay less attention to helping homeless people move into social housing. Instead, the organisations draw on private housing services for homeless people as a practical approach to help them rebuild their lives and acquire the social skills and job training necessary for self-sufficiency.

I claim these are the alternative practices in Taiwan's homelessness landscape. This is shaped by the Confucian characteristic of repairing homeless people's kinship and returning them home. Indeed, this Confucian characteristic is intertwined with the neoliberal characteristic of earning a living in the social economy for survival. On the other hand, such attributes of alternative practices help to understand how alternative practices respond to the housing crisis in Taiwan as a shock. As mentioned above, the housing crisis in Taiwan has been chronic since the post-war period. However, the state-led economic development led to continuous, rapid growth in individual incomes from the late 1950s to the late 1990s. The 1980s and the 1990s were considered the "good old days," characterised by relatively high individual incomes and affordable private housing options, as mentioned above. However, in the early 2000s, personal incomes in Taiwan started to stagnate due to post-industrialisation and the rapid economic development in China (Lin, 2012). However, the private housing crisis continued to increase and rapidly escalate after the mid-2010s (Liao, 2022). This is the 'shock' for homeless agencies in Taiwan to deal with homelessness issues for adequate housing through their alternative practices.

The empirical evidence on the aforementioned alternative practices contributes to another central concept of resilience, which is that resilience is actively produced (DeVerteuil & Golubchikov, 2016). Based on my findings, homeless agencies in Taiwan's voluntary sector are the social actors who actively help homeless people in co-production to cope with homelessness together. However, it is challenging to help homeless people be socially included in Taiwan. On the one hand, many voluntary-sector homeless agencies collaborate with others in the sector to meet the multiple needs of their homeless care recipients, such as providing temporary housing, negotiating with families for mutual support, and facilitating employment

for survival (see Chapter 5). On the other hand, these voluntary-sector agencies can adapt to their difficulty of care work in precarity (e.g., overloaded and long-hour work) in the network, such as regular in-person or virtual meetings with colleagues and informal events with like-minded people (e.g., reading club and chatting in café) as their everyday life of sharing and easing their stress and sadnesses from work (see Chapter 6).

Furthermore, my findings indicate that voluntary-sector homeless agencies in Taiwan typically draw on and refer to service experiences from other advanced economies (e.g., the UK, the US, Japan) to develop innovative approaches to providing homeless services (see Chapters 5 and 6). In this context, homeless agencies utilize the neoliberal concept of homeless services (i.e., the Housing First programme for promoting homeless people's self-sufficiency) to adapt the Confucian tradition of mutual family support for improved service outcomes. This does not mean the Housing First programme has been implemented in Taiwan. It means that the idea of self-sufficiency, when applied individually, sometimes helps some homeless people who cannot meet their needs through the collective mutual support of their family. For instance, my findings show that many voluntary-sector homeless agencies in Taiwan help their homeless care recipients receive government grants by suing their family members as a primary approach. This approach enables homeless individuals to access government grants for self-sufficiency after obtaining a legal exemption for mutual family support, as outlined in Chapter 4.

From this empirical evidence, we can see that the contextual neo-liberal hegemony in Taiwan, shaped by Confucianism, influences the provision of homeless services. Additionally, the evidence suggests that neoliberal discourses may not only pose a threat to Confucian society, which is based on mutual family support as a fundamental moral principle. It may be more precise to consider neoliberal discourses as the catalyst for adjusting homeless services with Confucian characteristics in Taiwan, as in the aforementioned example. This evidence provides the nuances of urban resilience (DeVerteuil, 2015) that in Taiwan, and perhaps other East Asian advanced economies, neoliberal notions contradictorily harm and help internal spaces of Taiwan's voluntary sector adjust conventional Confucian homeless services for better service outcomes.

Resilience can be at the forefront of defending previous, current and future social and economic gains that can no longer be taken for granted (DeVerteuil & Golubchikov, 2016). My findings, presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, suggest that the aforementioned Confucian discourses serve as cultural and social precursors in Taiwan, influencing the provision of homeless services. In the Taiwanese context, Confucianism is a strong ideology that influences welfare services; resilience with Confucian characteristics can potentially undermine the broader neoliberal

hegemony. Furthermore, the Confucian welfare services are required by Taiwan legislation for each family to follow (Public Assistance Act, 2015). This is strong evidence to support the idea that individuals cannot be individualised to meet the person's welfare needs, as well as evidence to explain why neoliberalisation of welfare services is incomplete in Taiwan. However, it does not mean the precursors of Confucian discourses always help individuals meet their welfare needs, especially homeless people with broken kinships who have experienced family conflicts or domestic violence.

For example, my findings show that the precursors can drive homeless people in Taiwan to actively cope with homelessness when collective familial well-being is the hope for them to survive (see Chapter 6). The findings also show that Taiwan's homeless support workers are motivated by Confucian discourses to help their care recipients repair their kinships as they hope to persevere in their careers (Chapter 6). Nevertheless, these two hopeful feelings are intertwined with their hopelessness that employment services for homeless people are usually used as an alternative approach. This approach often puts homeless people in Taiwan in a precarious situation to carry on paid work in the informal economy to survive. This approach also puts homeless support workers in Taiwan in another precarious situation, characterised by conducting overloaded and long-hour work, with only a few successful cases of social inclusion resulting from the effort (see Chapters 5 and 6). I argue that the complexities of resilience and homelessness in East Asia are understudied. My findings provide original findings on such complexities at the grassroots in Taiwan (see Chapter 6).

2.4.2 Service Hubs

A service hub is the co-location of a set of community-based facilities (e.g., non-profit organisations, community groups, and health clinics) whose physical proximity is close enough for vulnerable urban populations to access (e.g., people experiencing homelessness, substance abuse and mental illness) (Dear et al., 1994). The *interlinkages* of individuals and community-based facilities are the primary focus of the service hubs (Dear et al., 1994). This focus on the interlinkages assists in understanding where the community-based facilities are and how the facilities interact with service recipients. The focus on interlinkages also helps explore whether community-based facilities and care services are accessible and sustainable for homeless people (Dear et al., 1994; DeVerteuil, 2015). Using the Skid Row district of Los Angeles as an example (Dear et al., 1994), a non-profit organisation (i.e., the St. Joseph Center) is the critical node in the interlinkages between homeless people and community-based facilities for service provision. In the interlinkages, the non-profit organisation is usually accessible for homeless

people to receive food and clothing aid, which could help the organisation to build enough trust to provide more services to homeless people (e.g., health and social care referrals) in its networks with other agencies in the district.

Building on the theoretical concept of a service hub (Dear et al., 1994), DeVerteuil (2015) refers to service hubs as clusters of organisations in the voluntary sector in global inner-city areas designed to help vulnerable populations, including homeless people. The voluntary sector refers to a space independent of the state and the market by emphasising the non-profit principle, mutualism, and altruism and from the family/community by its formality (DeVerteuil, 2015). The research focuses on clusters of voluntary sector organisations helps explore a set of relationships dominated by voluntary action and lying in tension among state, informal community, and private market influences, whilst the voluntary sector is not inherently co-opted into the neoliberal shadow state (DeVerteuil, 2015; May & Cloke, 2014). This exploration is crucial because voluntary sector organisations are not just sites of control or punishment but are also potential and genuine sites of help, care, and sustenance for marginalised groups, sometimes working alongside or providing an alternative to neoliberalism (DeVerteuil, 2015; DeVerteuil & Wilton, 2009).The term marginalised group here refers to a group of people who have experienced systematic exclusion and discrimination due to their characteristics (e.g., class, race, gender, and so on), on the one hand, and are limited to accessing welfare systems (e.g., education, employment, health, and social care), on the other hand.

The existing Western literature has demonstrated the resilience of service hubs in cities (DeVerteuil, 2015, 2023; DeVerteuil et al., 2020; Power et al., 2019, 2021). Moreover, this literature explores how the voluntary sector has filled in the gaps left behind by the welfare states under roll-back neoliberalisation in the Western context, as DeVerteuil (2015: 10) refers to 'the gaps left behind by welfare state roll-back, providing a vehicle for social movements, citizenship, and survival despite their notoriously asymmetrical, uncoordinated, and uneven nature'. In contrast, an emerging East Asian literature on resilience and service hubs in cities explores the interlinkages between marginalised groups and clusters of voluntary sector organisations in East Asia (DeVerteuil et al., 2022a; Toshio et al., 2023) under (no-roll-back) developmentalism instead of roll-back neoliberalisation.

For example, Sho (2023) identifies one of the service hubs in Taipei that provides homeless services in the Wanhua District. However, the literature barely demonstrates how the service hub positions itself for providing homeless services. Indeed, the service hub collaborates with

the local state in a peculiar order of homeless service provision in that employment services seem to be placed before housing services for homeless people (Sho, 2023). Whilst there is no clear explanation of how the prior employment services compared to housing services, it could refer to the voluntary sector in Taiwan as having been co-opted by the state and the market under neoliberalism to punish homeless people. However, in a system of neoliberalism coupled with Confucianism in Taiwan, as developmentalism influences the voluntary sector in providing homeless services, the voluntary sector is possibly positioned to reconcile the contradiction between neoliberal/individualised welfare and Confucian/collective familial welfare as an alternative to neoliberalism.

For example, the voluntary sector in Taiwan may perceive neoliberal welfare as a catalyst to amend collective familial welfare to make the welfare system more accessible. Then, the voluntary sector may perceive neoliberal welfare as a threat, exacerbating social and economic inequalities in Western contexts. However, the voluntary sector may not be able to employ neoliberal welfare ideas sufficiently carefully as a strategy for amending and improving the collective familial welfare associated with the voluntary sector's imaginings of Western and other East Asian welfare states' welfare provision and romanticising of liberal democracy. My empirical evidence demonstrates the possible position of service hubs in Taiwan as the 'mediator' in reconciling neoliberal and Confucian care ethics for improving the outcome of homeless services, as shown in Chapters 4 and 5. My empirical evidence is also used to explore how the voluntary sector seeks to reconcile neoliberal and Confucian care ethics under the positive imaginings of high-income countries (e.g., North America, Western Europe, the Nordic countries, South Korea, and Japan), as shown in Chapters 5 and 6.

Resilience involves individual adaptive capacities that allow care providers and receivers to adapt to difficulties. Considering the third research question: How do the relational and spatial dynamics of community-based homeless support in Taiwan shape the variety of homeless service workers' motivations and hope for persevering in supporting homeless people? It is unclear how a sense of *hope* supports this capacity. Moreover, feelings of hope may be intertwined with feelings of hopelessness and precariousness (Power et al., 2019), as explained below.

In short, two service hubs in Taipei are shaped by neoliberal and Confucian notions (see Figures 7 and 8). In Chapter 5, I will demonstrate the findings on how the service hubs provide homeless services.

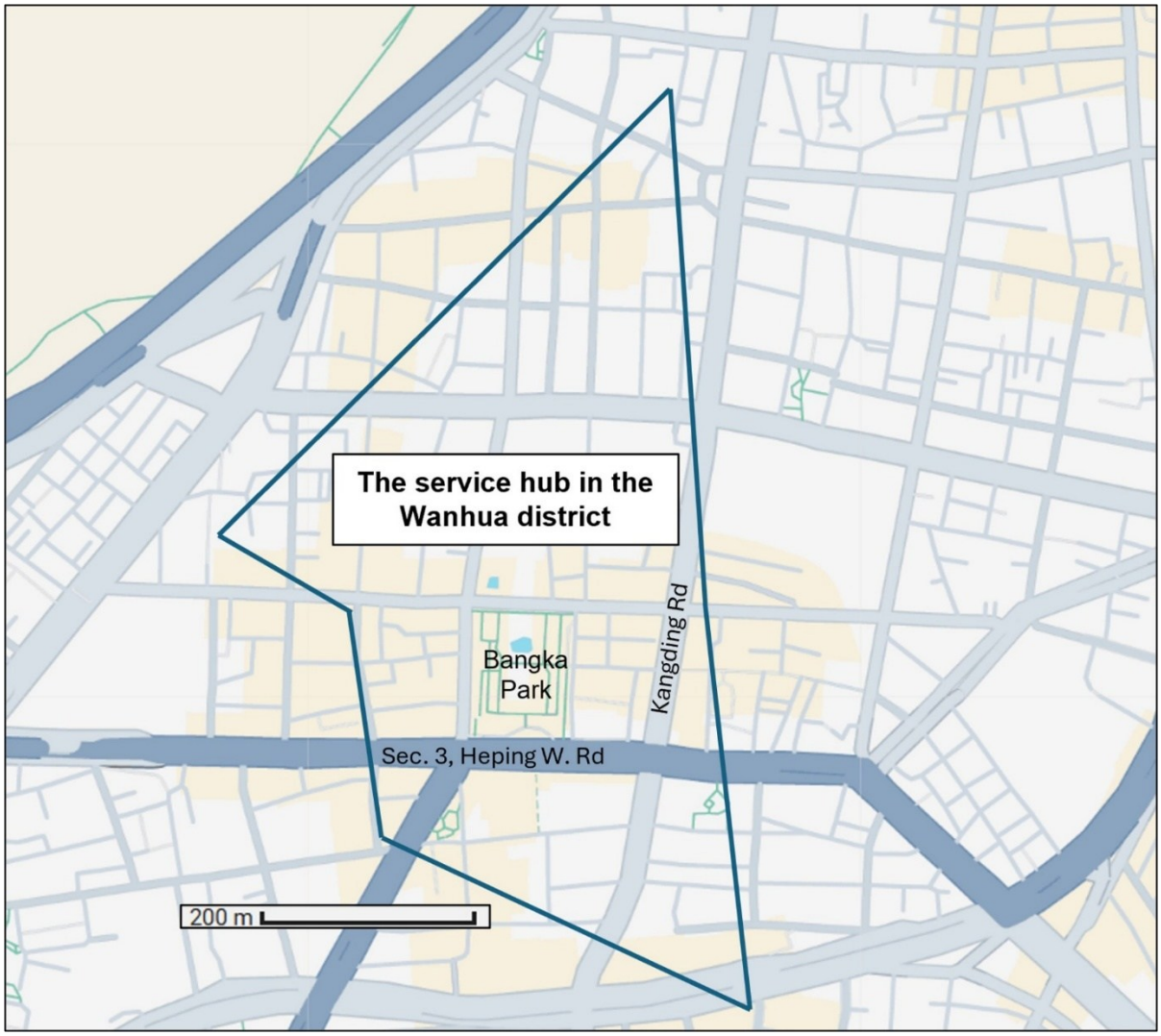

Figure 7 The service hub in Taipei's Wanhua district

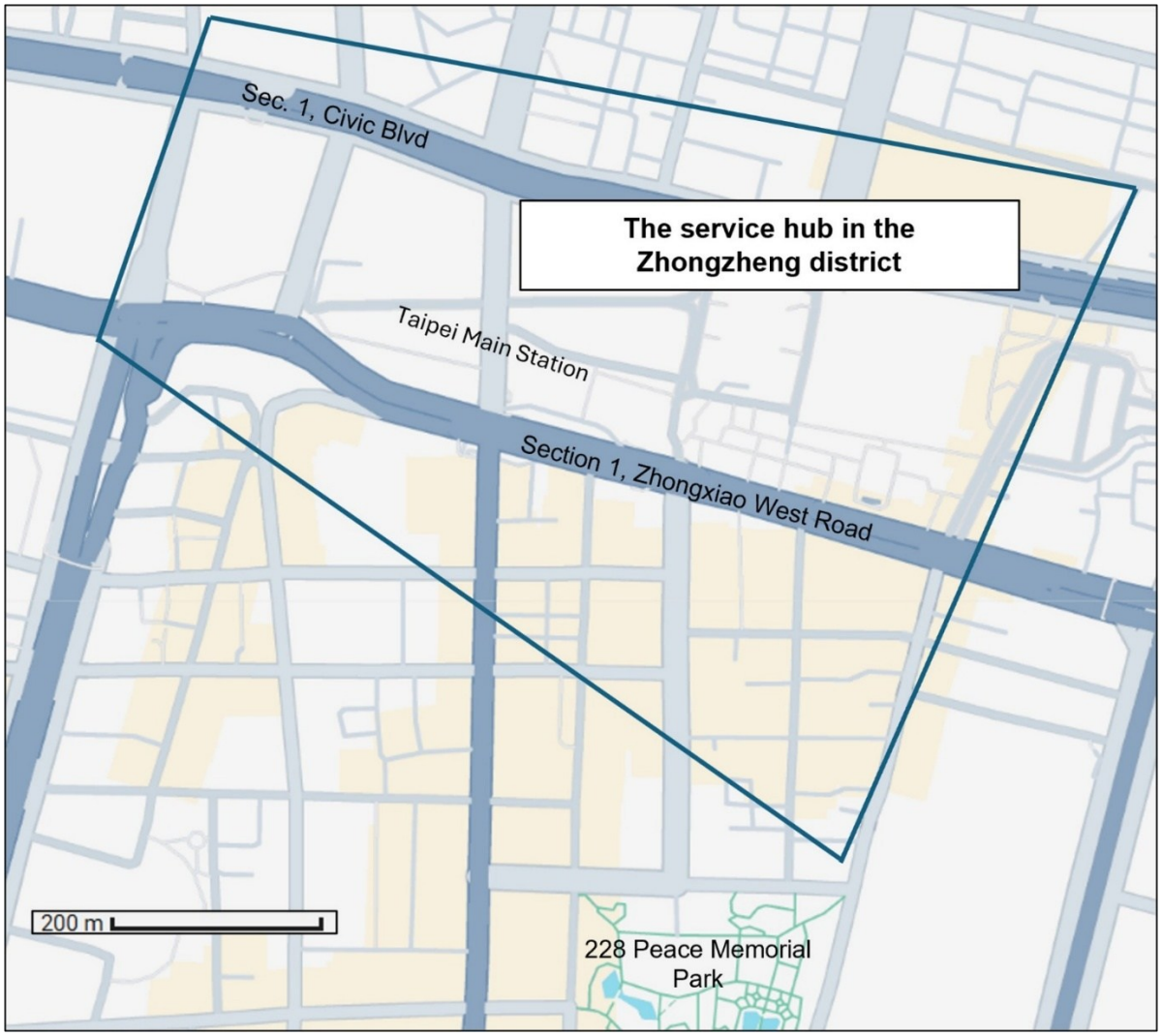

Figure 8 The service hub in Taipei's Zhongzheng district

2.4.3 Hope, Precarity, and Hopeful Adaptation

Hope is the individual ability embedded in places to 'feel' something better and try to 'forget' unpleasant things (Anderson, 2002, 2006). Hope is inseparable from hopelessness in places, including the adverse moments that often occur when individuals encounter social barriers related to individual (e.g., physical and mental disability) and environmental (e.g., deprived inner-city neighbourhoods) factors (Andrews, 2017; Davidson et al., 2006; Power et al., 2019). In other words, there are relational atmospheres in places encompassing various hopeful and hopeless feelings that influence or even support marginalised groups to formulate survival strategies to change, despite their societal exclusion, as a *hopeful adaptation* (Power et al., 2019). Moreover, the process of hopeful adaptation in resilience is such that individuals' hopeful and hopeless feelings are embedded in the residual arrangements to reshape urban poverty (Power et al., 2019). For example, the city of Melbourne has a relational atmosphere that makes homeless people feel hopeless about sleeping on the streets, which is associated with homeless people relying on street vending as their main approach to survival. However, their hopelessness is intertwined with their hope that pedestrians will give them items and talk to them, which sometimes makes homeless people feel better (Duff, 2017).

On the other hand, agencies also participate in hopeful adaptation with care recipients in cities to realise the importance of the intersection of care recipients' hope and hopelessness and to formulate survival strategies together (Power et al., 2019). Moreover, agencies in the voluntary sector usually help their care recipients while being concerned about their survival in the state-sponsored redevelopment and gentrification in cities (DeVerteuil, Kiener, et al., 2022). In other words, agencies in the voluntary sector are also influenced by their hopeful and hopeless feelings with regard to care provision to marginalised groups in cities (Power et al., 2021). For example, in the UK, voluntary sector organisations for people with learning disability provide care services in a hopeful adaptation (Power et al., 2021). The UK welfare regime influences voluntary sector organisations to feel hopeless that the organisations may be unsustainable if they fail to win the bidding for non-statutory funding for care provision, whilst the government provides little funding associated with the retrenchment of welfare budgets. However, one of the voluntary sector organisations (i.e., a local café employing people with learning disabilities on an unpaid and paid basis) offers a beacon of hope that people could come and do volunteer work and progress to paid work for running their café. Nevertheless, this hope is based on reliance on volunteers and cannot change the fact that this café was closed due to the café owner's philanthropic funding drying up (Power et al., 2021). Hence, Power et al. (2021)

demonstrate that agencies in the voluntary sector in a welfare state involving roll-back neoliberalism possibly provide care services in precarity and hope for adaptation.

The area of hopeful adaptation in East Asia is understudied. There is little evidence demonstrating how the voluntary sector provides care services in East Asian countries that have not experienced roll-back neoliberalism. However, non-profit organisations in East Asian countries offer care services in precarity (Huang & Liu, 2011; Muntaner et al., 2020; Peng, 2018; Wu et al., 2018). Voluntary sector organisations offering homeless services in Taiwan are a valuable case to explore care providers' hopeful and hopeless feelings in relation to hopeful adaptation when the welfare budget has gradually increased since the 1980s (Ku, 1997). This hopeful adaptation in the East Asian context comes under developmentalism. The hope may be that state-led economic development and rapid transformation from an industrialised to a post-industrialised society are making the voluntary sector feel optimistic that Taiwan is catching up with Western societies in terms of better employment conditions and welfare systems. In addition, the hopelessness may be that downloaded welfare responsibility is perpetuated under neoliberalism, coupled with Confucianism. This may make the voluntary sector feel hopeless that it persists in offering care services with little governmental funding, as is the tradition. Nevertheless, the fact that the democratic regime in Taiwan is young is a possible factor in further shaping the hopeful adaptation. In this, civic participation is becoming more popular and can increase the number of volunteers, as the promise and the housing crisis are exacerbated by clientelism, and the adversity develops in democracy.

Moreover, hope relates to secular beliefs that motivate individuals to persist in work (Anderson, 2002; Harvey, 2000). When cities in Taiwan are under developmentalism, care providers' secular beliefs may refer to neoliberal care ethics to encourage care recipients to choose the services they want to receive. Also, care providers' secular beliefs may echo Confucian care ethics in requesting that care recipients obey mutual familial obligations to meet welfare needs. In other words, care providers' motivations to pursue or persist in care provision must vary. However, there is little evidence of homeless service providers' motivations and hopes in Taiwan. When individual motivations and hopes for persisting in work can relate to their desire to transform society into a utopia (Anderson, 2006; Milligan & Wiles, 2010), homeless support workers in Taiwan may be motivated to pursue their work of transforming Taiwan into the Confucian utopia of the *Great Unity* (Da-Tong, 大同). The Great Unity is the blueprint of a utopia, as referred to by Confucius (551-479 BCE) (Confucius, 2014; Liu, 2016). There are two phases to the transformation of a utopia. In the first phase, individuals prioritise fulfilling familial love and welfare to make the society *moderately prosperous* (小康). After this, individuals will share their

love with others beyond family for permanent peace and to transform society into the Great Unity. In contrast with the socialist utopia, the Confucian utopia seems mainly focused on sustaining family members' well-being, instead of primarily improving economic and social inequality to achieve social justice (Harvey, 2000, 2012, 2020). For example, the socialist utopia (i.e. socialism) is described as a society that prioritises public ownership, property, and natural resources for collective well-being (Dagger & Ball, 2024). Also, individuals in this socialist society live in cooperation with others instead of being isolated. In this context, products produced by individuals are considered as social products sharing, in which their labour production contributes to the collective well-being of the society (Dagger & Ball, 2024).

The socialist utopia is different from the Confucian one with the fundamental difference that the primary priorities are public ownership to transform capitalist 'economic production' into collective production and consumption. In comparison, the latter prioritises familial harmony to meet a family's welfare needs through giving mutual support from family members, and they will share love together. After this, the family will give to other families, helping them achieve the same. Eventually, the Confucian utopia will be achieved when individuals love their family members and others. This is mentioned by Confucius himself (Confucius, 2014). Confucius had mentioned that the society must be shared by each individual in society for permanent peace as ''天下為公'' (Confucius, 2014), whilst Confucius himself did not mention which type of economic production is ideal to achieve the utopian society. In Taiwan, the state co-opts with the market for a capitalist economy (e.g., private ownership and economic profit-oriented output) (Park et al., 2012), which is considered by the state as the primary approach to achieve familial harmony under Confucian ethics and legislation (i.e., the legal duty of maintenance), which I have demonstrated in Chapter 4. In this context, the ideology of Confucianism has fused with neoliberalism for family harmony.

On the other hand, the voluntary sector in Taiwan does not fully reject the idea of using a capitalist economy to achieve family harmony. Also, some homeless agencies in the voluntary sector pursue the Confucian utopia in Taiwan's advanced economy. In the meantime, another part of homeless agencies in the voluntary sector is motivated by socialist ideas (e.g., improving economic and social inequalities for social justice), on the one hand, and to help homeless people achieve family harmony under Confucian ethics, on the other. Indeed, the agencies surprisingly mainly use community-based practices to provide homeless services, which I have demonstrated is the representation of the social economy by the homeless agencies in Taiwan (see Chapters 5 and 6).

In short, based on my finding that the configuration of Taiwan's welfare state for homeless services provision is shaped in the fusion of Confucianism (and neoliberalism), which I claim the East Asian spatial dynamics possibly influence the East Asian countries for providing homeless services, such as Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and China. In the process of fusion of Confucianism in Taiwan, urban resilience in Taipei involves the residual care provision required by Confucian ethics and the (new) neoliberal care provision from the West introduced in Taiwan in globalisation. In this context, the alternative care shaped by Confucianism and neoliberalism is continuously bounced back as the resilience in the welfare state apparatus. Based on my findings, the variety of individual hope is embedded in this resilient process in Taiwan's landscape of homelessness, including preserving family harmony and collective familial well-being under Confucianism, on the one hand, and social justice for improving social and economic inequalities, on the other. In the meantime, individual hopelessness is intertwined with the variety of hope in Taiwan, such as time-consuming process of repairing homeless people's broken kinship, going to law court for suing their family members to end family members' maintenance duty as the main approach to helping homeless people to access social care system, and so on (see Chapter 4).

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I first reviewed the literature on neoliberalism and the shadow state in the Western context. Then, I reviewed the literature on developmentalism in East Asia to engage with the theoretical concept of the shadow state as the central theme. After this, I reviewed the literature on the critical concepts of the geographies of homelessness, including revanchism, poverty management, resilience, and hope. Indeed, the review helps to understand how I answered the three overarching questions presented above using my empirical evidence demonstrated in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

In section I, I identified the gap in the shadow state in East Asia beyond the Western context of the roll-out and roll-back of neoliberalism. Then, I reviewed the housing crisis and homelessness in Taiwan as a case to demonstrate that welfare responsibility downloaded to the voluntary sector has been perpetuated under developmentalism since 1949. After this, I explained that the shadow state in Taiwan is understudied, and I outlined where my empirical findings are to fill in the gap in later chapters. In section 2, I identified the gap in knowledge of the relationship between revanchism and developmentalism in East Asia, which is barely demonstrated in the existing literature. Then, I reviewed the definition, decriminalisation, and de-institutionalisation of homeless people from 1949 to demonstrate that local contexts

beyond Western experience shape revanchism in Taiwan. I explained that little literature exists showing the relationships between these phenomena and revanchism in Taiwan. Hence, I explained where my empirical findings are to fill in the gap in later chapters.

In section 3, I identified the gap in the relationships between poverty management and developmentalism in Taiwan, and that research on this is understudied. Then, I reviewed the literature on maintenance legislation in Taiwan to demonstrate the connections between employment-led homeless services and Confucian care ethics under the maintenance legislation. After that, I explained the understudied area of the relationships between the maintenance legislation and employment-led homeless services in Taiwan. Therefore, I demonstrated where my empirical findings are to fill in the gap in later chapters. Last, in section 4, I identified the gap in knowledge of resilience, service hubs, and hopeful adaptation. All these crucial concepts in the geographies of homelessness barely engage with the idea of developmentalism for exploring resilience in East Asia under developmentalism. I reviewed the literature on homelessness in Taiwan to demonstrate the possible engagements with resilience, service hubs, and hopeful adaptation. Then, I explained where my empirical findings are to fill in the gap in later chapters.

In the next chapter, on my methodology, I will demonstrate how I used qualitative methods to collect and analyse empirical data, including material from 55 semi-structured interviews and field notes from a three-month participant observation in Taipei. I will also explain how I conducted my data analysis, which involved several deductive and inductive processes iteratively, and how I managed my data in alignment with ethical principles.

Chapter 3 Methodology

In the geographies of homelessness, the landscape of homelessness has been shaped by neoliberal discourses and the interplay between the state and the voluntary sector, and has become complex (Dear & Wolch, 1987; DeVerteuil et al., 2009; May & Cloke, 2014; Smith, 1996). The Western literature on landscapes of homelessness uses qualitative research approaches to examine the complexity of homelessness in welfare states, which involves the relationships between social policies and the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services (Baker et al., 2020; Evans, 2011). The voluntary sector's tension and negotiation with the state in providing accommodating homeless services (DeVerteuil, 2015, 2019), and the voluntary sector's motivations and hopes in persisting in providing homeless support (Cloke et al., 2010). In comparison, the emerging East Asian literature on Japan's landscape of homelessness, for example, also uses qualitative research approaches to understand the complexity of homelessness in some East Asian welfare states (DeVerteuil, Marr, et al., 2022b; Toshio et al., 2023). However, the existing East Asian literature on the landscape of homelessness in Japan and other developmental welfare states barely refers to the characteristics of neoliberal discourses coupled with Confucian ideas in the East Asian welfare states in shaping the interplay between the state and the voluntary sector.

I employed a qualitative research design to explore the complexity of homelessness in Taiwan's context because this approach is the most effective in understanding social-spatial processes and individual daily lives in past or present contexts, such as the interplay between individual everyday practices and environments (Cope & Hay, 2021; Curtis et al., 2000). I conducted 55 semi-structured interviews (i.e., with 21 key informants and 33 participants) in Taiwan and participant observation for three months in Taipei (from 29th February to 29th May 2023). This approach was primarily aimed at exploring the multi-level governance and dynamics in Taiwan's landscape of homelessness to answer the three research questions in the introduction chapter. Through this research, I have unearthed numerous original findings that highlight the complex relationships between neoliberal discourse and Confucian ideas, homeless policies and services, the interplay between the voluntary sector and the state, and homeless support workers' everyday experiences (perspectives, motivations, and

emotions). These findings can serve as a valuable resource for further exploration of such complex relationships in other East Asian welfare states. This is particularly significant given the pervasiveness of Confucianism in East Asia and its unique development in local contexts. In this chapter, I will first outline the scope of the study of homelessness in Taiwan and the rationale for choosing Taiwan as an East Asian case study, including as it does three cities and seven field sites. I will then provide a detailed account of how I conducted my qualitative research, from creating a research design encompassing interviews and participant observation to collecting, analysing, and managing the qualitative data.

3.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research aims to understand social-spatial processes and individual daily lives in past or present contexts, such as the interplay between individual everyday practices and environments (Cope & Hay, 2021; Curtis et al., 2000). Qualitative research includes three essential principles: *non-numerical data* collection and analysis, *questions* about the relations between social-spatial processes and individual everyday practices, and *epistemological knowledge production* (Cope & Hay, 2021). First, non-numeral data resources can include various forms, such as text, photos and videos, oral recordings, drawings and sketches, maps, observations of human behaviour, historical documents, material artefacts, and social media posts (Hay, 2020). Non-numeral data resources are interpreted using various techniques, such as narrative analysis, discourse analysis, and coding practices. Indeed, interpreting the data allows researchers to erect a bridge between real-world, practical experience and more profound insights based on relations, connections, processes, and theories (Cope & Hay, 2021).

Second, qualitative research questions in human geography typically concern the relations between social-spatial processes and individual everyday practices. The questions assist in exploring how places are produced through individual and social action, while the action is also shaped by place (Sayer, 1992). Last, epistemological knowledge production means that researchers usually use some of the theoretical concepts selected from various theories to deal with how they examine a phenomenon, collect and analyse data, and produce new knowledge of the phenomenon (Cope &

Hay, 2021). In human geography, researchers can use knowledge production resting on epistemology to understand individual experiences, relationships, differences, injustices, cultural practices, and place production (Gibson-Graham, 2006). For example, human geographers can employ feminist theory for conducting their qualitative research to explore the intersections between individuals' social and political identities and places in order to understand the possibility of practising social justice (Brydges & Hracs, 2019; McDowell, 2004; Power & Hall, 2018). Moreover, knowledge production in qualitative research includes researchers' self-reflection on positionality (e.g., their gender, race, age, dis/ability, sexuality, and other dimensions of identity) when they conduct research design, data collection and analysis to acquire *situated knowledge* (Haraway, 1988). I will demonstrate how I carried out self-reflection to acquire situated knowledge later because my positionality is not fixed but is more fluid and changes over time.

I chose qualitative research to explore the complex relationships between homeless people, agencies, and social policies in Taiwan. The primary motivation for this was to answer the three overarching questions presented above. I here outline three arguments which underpin this motivation. The first is that the empirical literature on homelessness in Taiwan and other East Asian countries is still emerging, and there is a lack of evidence of having explored the complex relationships referred to above. For example, while the services may be employment-led instead of housing-led in Taiwan (see Chapter 2), a significant knowledge gap remains in understanding the complex relationships involving individuals' and agencies' perspectives on homeless services. Hence, I have chosen qualitative research to explore individuals' and agencies' perspectives on homeless services shaped by economic production, social policies, beliefs, and other local contexts in Taiwan.

The second is that research questions in a qualitative framework usually lie along a spectrum between concrete and abstract ends (Cope & Hay, 2021), which is highly suitable for my research questions on the complex relationships referred to above to find satisfactory or open-ended answers. For example, I incorporated descriptive and more open research questions in a qualitative framework with more concrete descriptive questions, such as what homeless services have been provided in Taipei? The more open questions sought to explore the perspectives of homeless support

workers, while the services could be punitive and supportive and shaped by local contexts. This joint approach enabled me to explore the complex relationships in the spaces of homelessness in Taiwan. Last, I frequently used self-reflection as an essential skill in qualitative research to minimise the influence of researchers' bias towards phenomena in a place in terms of research design and data collection/analysis; I did so to acquire research findings in the process of acquiring *situated knowledge* (Haraway, 1988). The self-reflection involved examining the researcher's reflexivity (i.e., understanding new knowledge and using it to question and challenge the researcher's thoughts and beliefs) (Olmos-Vega et al., 2023) and the researcher's positionality (i.e., the researcher being aware of his/her social identities and the interactions of the social identities, research design, data collection, and data analysis) (Holmes, 2020). In the subsections below, I will demonstrate my reflexivity and positionality and how I produced my situated knowledge through constant self-reflection.

Regarding my analytical approach, I used the hybrid analytical approach of inductive and deductive analysis methods (Bingham, 2023; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) for my empirical case study. The inductive analysis is an approach to creating codes and themes derived from raw collected data, in which a predetermined category and theory are not used (Boyatzis Richard, 1998; Hay & Cope, 2021). In contrast, the deductive analysis is an approach that initially uses predefined codes and themes based on existing theories to apply those codes to the collected data (Crabtree & Miller, 1999; Meghan Cope, 2010). The hybrid analytical approach combines inductive analysis, which involves using themes that emerge from the data itself, with deductive analysis, which involves applying predefined codes based on existing theories (Bingham, 2023; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). This hybrid analytical approach is time-consuming, as it requires balancing deductive and inductive approaches during the coding process, which is a downside (Skillman et al., 2019). However, the hybrid analytical approach not only offers flexibility for analysing data but also enables a more comprehensive understanding of complex phenomena under scrutiny(Bingham, 2023; Proudfoot, 2023).

My hybrid analytical approach can be understood in three ways. Firstly, I started by collecting data on homelessness in Taiwan to assign descriptive codes to segments of

the collected data, recognising themes and patterns. In this inductive coding process, I created labels deductively before the assigning process to categorise descriptive codes, such as data type labels, time, and location. Secondly, I inductively identified the main themes and general patterns by recognising which themes and patterns were most frequently represented or seemed pertinent in my data, as well as which themes and patterns from my field notes and interview data emerged as meaningful. Then, I deductively created conceptual ideas relating to my research questions, which were labelled to further categorise the themes and patterns, such as non-profit organisations working with local government for homeless services, the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services, and the precarious nature of continuing homeless services.

Finally, I initially developed a new theoretical framework through the deductive approach by examining the similarities between Western literature of human geography and Taiwan's homelessness phenomenon. For instance, I read the Western literature on the shadow state (Jones & Royles, 2020; Wolch, 1989) to examine my data and justify the existence of a parasitic partnership between Taiwan's voluntary sector and the state shaped by neoliberalism. After this justification, I deductively identified the differences between the Western and Taiwanese shadow states. This approach helped build upon Western literature to develop a new and valuable theoretical framework for examining the complexities of homelessness in East Asia.

By this analytical approach, the findings that follow demonstrate that it was problematic to only use the Western conceptual framework to explore the complexities of homelessness in East Asia, whilst the ideological influences of Confucian notions were significant, but it was barely mentioned in the Western literature (Cloke et al., 2010; DeVerteuil et al., 2020; Wolch, 1989). In this, I built on Western literature to develop a new theoretical framework, coined as the fusion of Confucianism and neoliberalism, which is relatively effective for exploring the complexities of homelessness in Taiwan and perhaps the rest of East Asian advanced economies. This framework also helps to frame the Global East model (Shin et al., 2016) for exploring how neoliberalism fused with Confucianism in East Asia to influence not only capitalist economic production and inequalities, but also social reproduction and urban resilience, thereby affecting Confucian familial well-being. Later, in sections 3.4.5 and

3.5.4, I will provide further details on how I conduct my analytical process and positionality as a voluntary-sector practitioner

I was a Taiwanese graduate student who finished a master's thesis on activism and the alleviation of young people's in-work poverty in Taiwan (Pei, 2018), based on the ideas of community economies to cultivate marginalised groups' self-awareness and deal with poverty through collective action (Gibson-Graham, 2006). I conducted participant action research for three years (2016 to 2018), which involved founding and managing a campus-based credit union to help a marginalised group (i.e., young people experiencing in-work poverty) accumulate social and financial capital as an approach to alleviating their poverty (Pei & Chang, 2019). During the participant action research, I became an insider in the voluntary sector in Taiwan for several reasons. First, I was chair of a credit union at a young age (25) for three years (2016 to 2018), and this position helped me build connections with many non-profit organisations in Taiwan. Second, I met some of the managers in Taiwan's voluntary sector who employed the ideas of community economies (Gibson-Graham, 2006) to deal with urban poverty through collective action. We were like-minded people with similar beliefs about helping marginalised groups survive. Third, I was an employee of a large national non-profit organisation (i.e., Taiwan Homemakers United Consumers Co-op) for nine months (January to August 2020), another identity of mine when I worked for that organisation, underpinning my identity as an insider of the voluntary sector in Taiwan.

I had built partnerships with some of the large national non-profit organisations for homeless support in Taiwan to build partnerships with them to advocate for young people experiencing in-work poverty. In the course of this advocacy, I realised that the organisations for homeless support usually prioritise job training and employment services for homeless people to alleviate homelessness in Taiwan. However, I was not fully aware that employment-led homeless services may be problematic because I was influenced by the social policy in Taiwan (Public Assistance Act, 2015), which required marginalised groups to meet welfare needs from their family or undertake paid work to be self-reliant as the primary approach supported by small government grants. I was also unaware of the importance of accommodation for homeless people before I studied at the University of Southampton in the UK. This was because the definition of homeless people in Taiwan was of wanderers who must experience street

homelessness for a particular time (Taipei City Government, 2022a), instead of the more general definition of homelessness given by the UN, which includes people living in inadequate housing (United Nations, 2020a). In other words, my mindset towards homeless services in Taiwan was that homeless people could be socially included through employment-led homeless services when the homeless services prioritised job training and employment ahead of temporary accommodation. In addition, I did not know that many homeless people may have mental illnesses and be unable to work before I reviewed the Western literature on homelessness systematically.

3.1.1 Positionality as a Student at a UK University

I situated myself at the University of Southampton to conduct PhD research on homelessness in 2020, motivated by my curiosity about the characteristics of job training and employment services for homeless people in the Western context. After systematically reading the Western literature on homelessness and homeless support, I realised that the voluntary sector and the state in the West did not prioritise job training and employment services. Instead, the voluntary sector in the West intends primarily to assist homeless people in temporary and long-term housing and *then* provide support in terms of job training and employment for social inclusion (Johnsen & Teixeira, 2010; Tainio & Fredriksson, 2009). I was surprised by the significantly different priorities of homeless support between Taiwan and the West. This discovery motivated me to formulate a research design involving comparative Western insights to explore the characteristics of homeless services in Taiwan.

After I compared homeless services in Taiwan with those in the UK, I realised my prior knowledge of the homeless services in Taiwan was that they focus on job training and employment with a strong punitive emphasis. The strong punitive emphasis influenced me to hold the bias that the voluntary sector and the state in Taiwan could ignore homeless services relating to accommodation, which is often primary in Western countries. However, I reflected on the homeless services in Taiwan and came to realise that they are shaped by local contexts involving some hidden motives to prioritise employment-led homeless services. Hence, the services could not be purely punitive but supportive to some extent in places. As a result, I coped with my bias through self-

reflection in respect of my research design, including exploring the characteristics of homeless services in Taiwan.

When I was producing my PhD research design, I kept my identity as an insider in the voluntary sector of Taiwan, whilst my position changed into that of an international PhD student from a UK university who conducted a Taiwanese study on urban poverty and intended to share the research findings at international conferences through English-language presentations. This identity was an advantage for me in recruiting participants and conducting fieldwork associated with the local factor that people in Taiwan may believe Western academic activities are excellent. In this case, they may be willing to share their expertise for an English publication. On the other hand, this new position helped me publish my articles on the UK's consumer cooperative societies and community economics in a Taiwan magazine before my fieldwork started (Pei, 2021a, 2021b). The new position also assisted me in giving lectures on the characteristics of Taiwan's and Britain's consumer cooperative societies to the public (Accupass, 2021). These facts helped me remain an insider in Taiwan's voluntary sector during my fieldwork in early 2023.

During the fieldwork, I used self-reflection to be aware of my identities as *positionalities* for data collection. For example, my bias regarding punitive homeless services existed in Taiwan when I conducted fieldwork. I coped with this bias by reflecting on my identity. I was Taiwanese, but I was studying at a UK university as a PhD student and reading literature on homelessness that was mainly explored in the Western context. Indeed, the literature demonstrates the importance of housing-led homeless services and criticises the problems of employment-led homeless services for marginalised groups, which could underpin individual and governmental attitudes towards *workfare* to deal with poverty by relying heavily on market mechanisms (Sunley, 2006). Then, I reflected that this knowledge of homelessness from Western literature influenced me to hold a bias towards homeless services in Taiwan, although homeless people and agencies in Taiwan may have different perspectives on homeless services from those of the West.

Therefore, I kept an open mind about each interviewee's perspectives on homeless services in Taiwan and each event of participant observation for data collection throughout my fieldwork. On the other hand, my identity as an insider in the voluntary sector of Taiwan helped me recruit participants and collect data. For example, some

participants had known me when I worked with them to advocate for poverty issues for young people in 2018. Some of the other participants said they knew me respectfully as a member of the Taiwan Homemakers United Consumers Co-op before the interview started, meaning they may have Googled my name and found information on my publications or activities. In the later sections, I will further demonstrate how I conducted self-reflection during interviewing, participant observation, and data analysis by following the ethical principles required by the University of Southampton. In the next section, I will draw on how I scoped the literature on homelessness in Taiwan, supported by secondary data, to create a strong research design, set the research questions, and formulate a strategy to answer them.

3.2 Scoping Review on Homelessness in Taiwan

The approach of a scoping review commonly refers to a process of summarising a range of evidence to convey the general or in-depth knowledge in a discipline (Levac et al., 2010; Nyanchoka et al., 2019; Pham et al., 2014). Researchers can conduct a scoping review to examine the extent of research activities and determine the value of research findings, as well as to identify gaps in the existing literature (Levac et al., 2010). I used a scoping review to develop my research design in three phases: reviewing the geographies of homelessness to decide the main theme of my homeless research; examining the existing East Asian literature on homelessness to identify empirical gaps and select a country (i.e., Taiwan) as a valuable and feasible case; and inspecting the secondary data on homelessness in Taiwan to choose Taipei as the main city for my data collection.

In the first phase, I sought to clarify a definition of 'homelessness'. According to the International Encyclopedia of Human Geography (Kissoon, 2020), there are three essential parts to homeless research in human geography, outlined as (1) the relations between de-institutionalised care services, housing shortages, and homeless people shaped by local contexts (Dear & Wolch, 1987); (2) the different dimensions of homelessness definitions in different places (Somerville, 1992); and (3) the individual, institutional, and organisational everyday practices in the spaces of homelessness (Cloke et al., 2010). These three parts informed my further reading of the homeless literature in human geography and enabled me to explore important theoretical

concepts in this branch of geography, although the concepts seem to have been developed mainly in the Western context.

After this, I used a framework from the literature (Kissoon, 2020) to decide the main theme of my PhD research. I decided to focus on the relationships between individual, organisational, and institutional everyday practices and social-spatial processes in the geographies of homelessness as the main theme, as in the third essential part of homeless research referred to above. I also used as subthemes the different definitions of homeless people in Taiwan and the relations between de-institutionalised care services, the housing shortage, and homeless people in the local context to support the main theme. For example, the main theme of this research was how social policies in Taiwan shape the voluntary sector and the state in providing homeless services. Meanwhile, the reasons for defining homeless people as 'wanderers' in Taiwan and Taiwan's context of the housing crisis were subthemes through which to comprehend the homeless services provided by the voluntary sector and the state.

In the second phase, I used Google Scholar to search for and download Chinese and English literature on homelessness in East Asia (i.e., Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and China). I also used the academic search engine CNKI (中國知網) to search for and download literature on homelessness in China, as the literature may not be searchable on Google Scholar. Regarding keywords for searching, I used English words related to people experiencing homelessness, such as homeless people, wanderers, rough sleepers/sleeping, homelessness, and rooflessness, which I separated and combined with these words for a systematic search. In addition, I used Traditional and Simplified Chinese words related to homeless people for searching, such as 無家可歸/无家可归, 無家者/无家者, 遊民/游民, 街友/街友, and 流浪漢/流浪汉, which I again separated and combined with these words for a systematic search. For scoping, I reviewed the literature on homelessness published between 2001 and 2021 in the fields of human geography, sociology, social policy, and social work.

I reviewed 247 academic publications on homelessness in East Asian countries: 58 publications in Japan, 37 in South Korea, 24 in Singapore, 27 in Hong Kong, 42 in Taiwan, and 59 in China. The reason I reviewed more homeless literature on a Chinese-speaking city (i.e., Hong Kong) and in Chinese-speaking countries (i.e., Taiwan and China) than

the rest of the East Asian countries is that much of the homeless literature in Mandarin was published in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China, which I can read as my first language.

After reading the literature, I identified several empirical gaps in the literature on homelessness in East Asia. For example, there was some emerging evidence of poverty management and service hubs in the geographies of homelessness; however, this was mainly demonstrated in the Japanese context (DeVerteuil, Marr, et al., 2022a). There was also a lack of evidence of exploration of how homeless people and agencies conduct their everyday practices in the austerity of places in East Asia (e.g., the developmental welfare states). In addition, there was little literature on religious and secular motives for individuals to become volunteers for homeless services in East Asia. After identifying these gaps, I selected those that would be valuable to fill. For example, I decided to address the first and second gaps mentioned above in order to contribute to knowledge of the geographies of homelessness. However, I decided not to address the last gap, motivated by the trend in the geographies of homelessness of seeming to pay less attention to the relations between religion and volunteerism.

After this, I assessed East Asian countries in order to choose a country as the case for my research. Almost all East Asian countries can offer a valuable case for addressing the above-mentioned gaps. However, my language barrier was the main challenge in collecting empirical data. I am bilingual in English and Mandarin, so I could not be effective in collecting empirical data from non-Mandarin-speaking East Asian areas, such as Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and the two Cantonese-speaking cities of Hong Kong and Macao. China and Taiwan were effectively two Mandarin-speaking regions in East Asia in which I could collect data. I was motivated by two practical reasons to choose Taiwan as my case. I had connections to voluntary organisations for alleviating youth or urban poverty in Taiwan, which was associated with my previous work experience as a practitioner and activist in the voluntary sector (Pei & Chang, 2019). Indeed, through the connections, I could access the voluntary organisation network for data collection for my study. It was also almost impossible for me to be arrested by the authorities for collecting empirical data on urban poverty in Taiwan, which was related to the democratic regime giving everyone the right to freedom of speech. Eventually, I chose Taiwan as a valuable and feasible case for my research.

In the third phase, I searched for and read secondary data on homelessness in Taiwan to find out where potential places as service hubs were and who the potential participants for data collection would be. Initially, I used Google to search for several types of secondary data on homelessness in Taiwan, including books, newspapers, videos, podcasts, and annual reports from state and voluntary organisations (e.g., charities and social enterprises). Then, I reviewed all the secondary data I could find on Google. After reviewing the secondary data, I chose Taipei as the main city for my research because I could only identify places in Taipei that had enough service hubs providing homeless services for data collection. Also, after examining the secondary data, I was only able to identify enough potential institutions and organisations for homeless services in Taipei.

In short, I conducted my scoping review for my research design through the three phases of reviewing the geographies of homelessness to decide the main theme of my homeless research, examining the existing East Asian literature on homelessness to identify knowledge gaps and explain why Taiwan was a valuable and feasible case for research, and inspecting the secondary data on homelessness in Taiwan to choose Taipei as the place incorporating enough potential service hubs and participants for empirical data collection. In the next section, I will explain why I used a *case study* approach to complete my research design and how I justified the seven inner-city areas in Taipei as valuable *field sites* for data collection.

3.2.1 A Case Study in Taiwan

In qualitative research, a case study contains a single instance of a phenomenon or a small number of its occurrences to explore in depth the phenomenon as shaped by the local factors of events, processes, and particular places (Baxter, 2021; Gerring, 2006). For example, Cloke et al. (2010) use homeless shelters in Britain to explore homeless people's everyday lives and their opinions in the shelters as influenced by local factors of events (e.g., referral services, food aid, and accommodation), processes (e.g., mobility of homeless people, discrimination, and resilience), and places (e.g., the streets, drop-in centres, soup kitchens, and shelters).

One typical approach to using a case study to produce in-depth knowledge is through a spatial and cross-case comparison (Gerring, 2006). A case study for a spatial-cross-

case comparison can be communities on a small scale. For instance, a case study (Dear et al., 1994)was used in inner-city areas of California (i.e., Venice and Pasadena) to compare the two communities and demonstrate the differences in the service hubs in each one. On the other hand, a case comparison can be of global cities on an international scale. For example, DeVerteuil (2015)uses the cases of service hubs in Los Angeles, London, and Sydney to explore the different interactions between individuals and voluntary organisations when using and providing homeless services.

A case study is suited to corroborating existing theories, falsifying existing theories, or developing new theories (Baxter, 2021). Using a case study on homelessness in the United States as an example, DeVerteuil (2019) questions the theory of *revanchism* (Smith, 1996), as we saw in the last chapter.[5] The case study (DeVerteuil, 2019) demonstrates that poverty management in a city may be punitive and accommodative when voluntary organisations can negotiate with the local state to provide helpful services for homeless people.

I chose Taiwan as my case study in East Asia to explore the geographies of homelessness in the Global North. I explained the two practical reasons for choosing Taiwan as the case above, such as my position as an insider in the voluntary sector network and the viability of the collection of empirical data on urban poverty in Taiwan as the only (literal) democracy in Greater China. In my case study, I chose Taipei as the primary city for empirical data collection. In addition, I decided to choose two other cities (i.e., New Taipei and Taichung) in Taiwan to collect a few examples of empirical data to compare with the data in Taipei for more in-depth knowledge. I will demonstrate the motives and the approach in the following subsection.

3.2.2 Taipei, the Primary City for the Research

Taipei is the capital city of Taiwan. The total area of Taipei is 271.80 km^2, and the total population was over 2.51 million in 2022 (Taipei City Government, 2022c). I chose Taipei

[5] Punitive treatments include the local state funding firms in the community to hire security to cajole homeless people and the local state using a police force to move homeless people away from train stations, utility tunnels, and so forth (Smith, 1996).

as the primary city for my Taiwan case study for three main reasons. First, Taipei is one of the global cities (Sassen, 2005) as a part of crucial organising centres for the interdependent skein of economic, political, and cultural flows that sustain contemporary globalisation. However, little evidence exists on the characteristics of homelessness in Taiwan as shaped by globalisation. For example, homelessness in some Western global cities (e.g., London, Los Angeles, and Sydney) was shaped by post-welfare regimes, including one of the critical factors of the effect of austerity policies on health and social care (DeVerteuil, 2015; DeVerteuil et al., 2020). In comparison, Taipei may not be suited to be considered part of the post-welfare regimes, although the public budget on health and social care has increased annually since the late 1980s in a move related to the democratisation of the country (Ku, 1995; Yeh & Ku, 2017). As there was little evidence to explore how local contexts beyond the Western experience shape the characteristics of homelessness in Taiwan, I chose Taipei as the main city to explore. Second, homelessness in Taipei may have been worsened by the overpriced housing market, in which the housing price has doubled compared with the other industrial cities, except New Taipei (Figure 7). In addition, overpriced housing in Taipei has increased the rental cost to the extent that it is unaffordable for marginalised groups (Liao, 2022). However, there was little evidence of exploring the relationship between housing prices, displacement, and homelessness in Taiwan. Hence, I chose Taipei as the city for my main exploration.

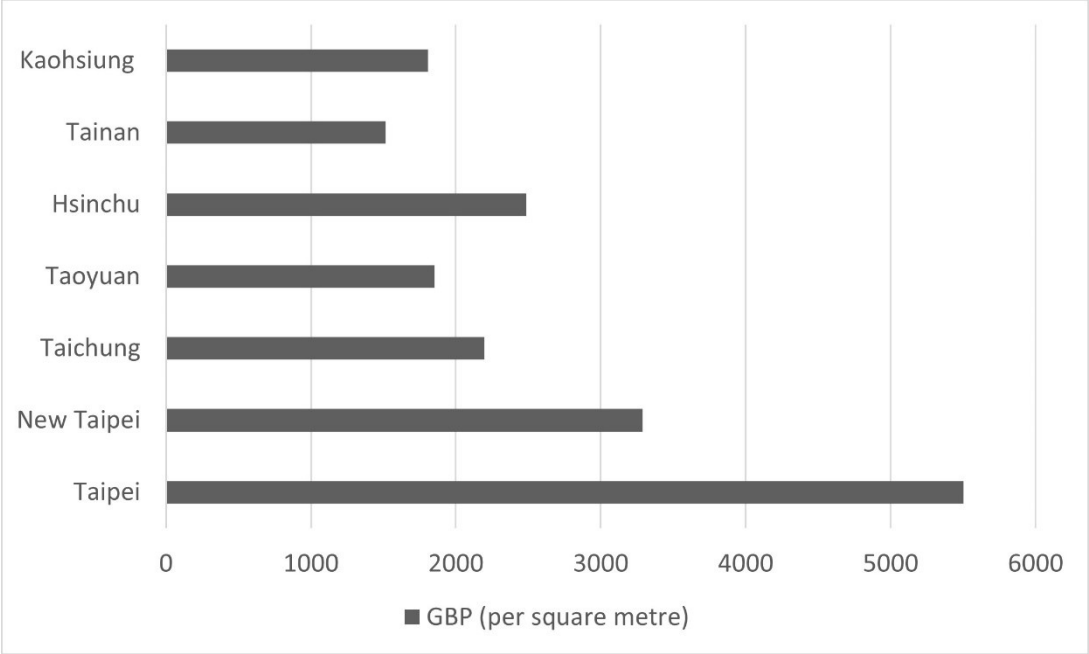

Figure 9 Housing prices in Taiwan in 2022

(Sinyi Realty, 2024)

Last, Taipei was the city with the most visible presence of homeless people in Taiwan. Many homeless people went to Taipei from other cities in Taiwan to have relatively accommodating homeless support (e.g., food and clothing aid) from the voluntary sector and the local state (Huang, 2019). In addition, the local state tolerated homeless people staying in some public places (e.g., Bangka Park and Taipei Main Station) overnight, associated with the voluntary sector's advocacy of homelessness issues in Taipei (Li, 2016). In short, Taipei was a valuable city for exploring the phenomenon of homelessness, including homeless people's mobility from other cities in Taiwan and the voluntary sector's advocacy for homeless people. However, there was a gap in the research on the relationships between these two phenomena in Taiwan. For example, the voluntary sector's motivations for providing homeless support and how the sector conducted advocacy and campaigns to negotiate with the local state for change were part of my second and third research questions, as explained in Chapter 2. Hence, I chose Taipei as the main city for exploration.

I also chose New Taipei and Taichung as comparative cases to compare with homelessness in Taipei to explore and gain more in-depth knowledge. The main reason for this was that voluntary organisations for homeless services in Taipei had some connection with the voluntary organisations in New Taipei and Taichung (Homeless

Taiwan, 2019; Right Plus, 2022). The voluntary organisations in New Taipei and Taichung may know about homeless services in Taipei and use the knowledge to situate themselves to provide services in their city. Hence, I intended to recruit some participants in New Taipei and Taichung to understand their perspectives, as *outsiders*, on homeless services in Taipei. Therefore, I was able to compare empirical data on homeless services provision in Taipei, New Taipei, and Taichung to explore and gain in-depth knowledge of homelessness in Taipei. Some of the participants in this research worked in New Taipei and Taichung, which will be explained in the later section.

3.2.3 Field Sites in Taipei

Field sites refer to the places that represent the environmental system in which researchers set and answer their research questions (Burrell, 2009; Clifford et al., 2013). Researchers usually assess risk, accessibility, and feasibility when deciding on their field sites (Clifford et al., 2010). I chose seven districts of Taipei as suitable field sites: Wanhua, Zhongzheng, Datong, Zhongshan, Songshan, Shilin, and Nangang (see Figure 8). There were three reasons for this. First, after I examined the secondary data on homeless services in Taipei from 2012 to 2022, only these seven districts had at least one community-based facility, such as food-provision places (遊民供餐服務據點), shower places (遊民盥洗服務據點), or shelters (遊民短期安置服務據點). Second, these seven districts had well-developed public transportation, including many bus stops and metro stations, and the traffic prices were affordable[6]. Third, I considered these districts safe for collecting empirical data after I reflected on my own living experiences in Taipei over 25 years and reviewed secondary data on Taipei's safety, including an article expressing that Taipei is safer than other cities in the Global North, such as Quebec City, Zurich, Tokyo, and so forth (Scanlan, 2023).

[6] In 2023, Taipei introduced a no-limit-time public transport pass for bus and metro, which cost approximately 32 GBP per month (Taipei City Government, 2023b). I used the pass over the course of my three-month fieldwork in Taipei.

Figure 10 Field sites in Taipei

(by author)

I considered the Wanhua District, from among the seven field sites, to be an essential place for data collection. There were three reasons for this. First, it is an inner-city area of Taipei that has experienced gentrification. For example, the Wanhua District attracted workers from Taipei and other cities for its light industries (e.g., printing and glass) and the retail industry in the 1960s and 1970s (Taipei City Government, 2022b). However, in the early 1980s, the industries in the district started declining, which was associated with the industrial transformation in Taipei from heavy to high-tech and financial sectors (Huang, 2021). Then, in the late 1990s, the popularity of property investment and the increasing price of buying and renting occurred, associated with the

urban renewal plan (i.e., 軸線翻轉政策) (Taipei City Government, 2015). Second, the number of full-time unemployed people in the district rose in the late 1990s, as did the number of part-time workers in the informal economy (e.g., building construction, street cleaning and vending, and religious parades) (Huang, 2021). This characteristic of the Wanhua District attracted homeless people to stay in the district to survive by working in the informal economy (Shi & Li, 2022). Third, a visible cluster of non-profit organisations existed in Wanhua District (Taipei City Government, 2019), which is associated with the phenomenon that over a hundred homeless people stayed daily in Bangka Park within the district, associated with the local state tolerance that homeless people can remain overnight in this park from 10 pm to 5 am every day (Future City, 2021). This cluster of non-profit organisations is the service hub for homeless support, which was important for exploring how to provide homeless services in Taipei.

I considered the Zhongzheng District, from among the seven field sites, to be another essential place for data collection for three reasons. First, Zhongzheng District was another inner-city area that had experienced gentrification in different local contexts. The Zhongzheng District is the city centre of Taipei, and includes the Parliament, the presidential office building, and the central Taipei terminus on the national railway network. Several urban renewal projects were undertaken in the district in different periods, such as the Taipei Road Widening Project in 1956, the Taipei Railway Underground Project in 1979, and the Taipei Commercial Areas Editing and Replanning Project in 1995 (Taipei City Government, 2022d). The state encouraged the private sector to invest in public transport systems and commercial and residential property under the urban projects, whilst gentrification and displacement happened to replace marginalised groups in city places (Jou et al., 2016b).

Second, over a hundred homeless people stayed daily at Taipei Main Station in the Zhongzheng District (Wang, 2021), associated with the mobility that homeless people from other cities had in being able to take the train to Taipei Main Station and then stay to get food and clothes aid from the voluntary sector and the local state (Shi & Li, 2022; Taipei City Government, 2019). Homeless people staying at Taipei Main Station were also related to the local state tolerance that homeless people could stay overnight there from 10 pm to 5 am every day (Sie, 2018). Third, there was a visible service hub for homeless people in the Zhongzheng District, as demonstrated in the secondary data

(Shi & Li, 2022; Taipei City Government, 2019), which was important for understanding the characteristics of homeless services in Taipei.

3.3 Ethics Approval and Considerations

Ethical approval for this research was granted prior to data collection through the University of Southampton's Ethics Committee (ERGO number 79126). This required creating and submitting several documents, including an interview consent form, a participant information sheet, an interview schedule, and an ethics application form. After discussions with supervisors, I decided not to include homeless people as participants for two reasons. First, existing literature on homeless people's everyday practices in Taipei has been demonstrated (Huang, 2019, 2021a). Second, my research design and questions aimed to fill the significant gap in the knowledge of the relationships between social policies, homeless services, and homeless support workers' everyday practices in Taiwan. As a result, my participants only included homeless support workers in Taiwan. I also asked homeless support workers to help me by asking a few homeless people if they agreed to be photographed as well as the public space. This will be clearly explained in the later sections.

All the homeless support worker participants were able to read Mandarin and understand the content of my Mandarin participant information sheet, interview schedule, and consent form for signing the form prior to data collection. This was because individuals in Taiwan must have a high-school certificate (i.e., secondary school) or higher education degree to apply for homeless support work (1111 Job Bank, 2024). As Mandarin is my first language, I was able to assist participants in understanding the details of these documents when they did not fully understand them before signing the consent form. I was aware of the changing power dynamics with participants in interviews and participant observation during the fieldwork. I followed the ethical principles the University of Southampton required for dealing with power dynamics and collecting empirical data. In the later sections, I will demonstrate how I helped participants fully understand the documents and dealt with the power dynamics at work between me and the participants. All the materials obtained from the participants in this research were anonymised by using pseudonyms and removing identifiable information from the research record, which will be further explained later.

In the next section, I will explain why I employed interviewing as the primary method for my qualitative research and how I used semi-structured interviews for data collection. I will also demonstrate how I analysed my empirical data in the deductive and inductive processes to obtain empirical findings.

3.4 Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviewing is one of human geography's most common qualitative research methods (DeLyser et al., 2010). Interviewing is a data-gathering method of verbal interchange in which the interviewer attempts to elicit from the interviewee information or expressions of opinion or belief about the subject under study, such as places, events, opinions, and experiences shaped by time-space dynamics (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Interviewing is an effective method of gaining access to information on the subjects, and participants' opinions vary, which participants' opinions are influenced by their identities of class, ethnicity, age, gender, and dis/abilities (Dunn, 2021). According to Dunn (2021), interviewing is used for four primary purposes: investigating complex behaviours and motivations, collecting a diversity of meanings and opinions as well as experiences, showing respect for and empowering the people who provide the data, and filling a gap in knowledge that other methods cannot bridge effectively.

Researchers often use *semi-structured interviews* to achieve the four primary purposes mentioned above (Dunn, 2021; Turner, 2021). Semi-structured interviewing is commonly used in qualitative research to ask questions organised around ordered, but flexible, questioning (Longhurst, 2010). In semi-structured interviews, researchers may partly follow the interview questions in their interview guides, and they usually redirect the conversation if it has moved too far from the research topics (Dunn, 2021). I employed semi-structured interviews as my primary method to collect interview data and achieve the four primary purposes mentioned above for exploring the complexity of homelessness in Taiwan. The subsection below will explain how I created my interview design, including the interview schedules and samples.

3.4.1 Interview Design

I produced my interview design by adhering to the above-mentioned research questions. The design includes the essential parts of interview schedules and interview samples. Regarding an interview schedule, this is a list of prepared questions that guide an interviewer and a participant in expressing their opinions about the research subject (Dunn, 2021). In addition, the schedule helps an interviewer jog his/her memory to ensure that all issues are covered as appropriately as possible for collecting interview data (Longhurst, 2010). I had two types of interview schedules, and the primary purpose was to collect adequate data to answer the overarching research questions. One of the schedules was for managers and homeless support workers and was intended to understand the relationships between social policies, poverty management, and homeless support workers' everyday practices. This schedule included four interview questions on social entrepreneurship and precariousness, networking, the pandemic, and perspective (see Appendix A.A.1). The other schedule was only for the policymaker and includes one set of interview questions on policy in Taiwan (see Appendix A.A.2). The main reason is that the policymaker mentioned she could only be interviewed by me for around 30 minutes. Hence, I selected some critical questions from the first interview schedule and edited them to collect sufficient data.

The interview samples included two types: key informants (i.e., managers and one policymaker) and participants (i.e., homeless support workers). The term key informants refers to participants with in-depth knowledge of developing and making policies (Pahwa et al., 2023). Key informants also refer to participants with expert knowledge of phenomena and events in local communities (Lokot, 2021; Taylor & Blake, 2015). Hence, I chose managers and a policymaker as my key informant samples to explore and gain in-depth knowledge of the relationships between social policies, homeless services, and community-based practices in Taiwan. Alongside these, homeless support workers were paid care providers who helped people who were homeless or sleeping rough by providing several types of homeless services, such as outreach, health and social care referrals, accommodation, job training, or employment (Rowland, 2023; Veasey & Parker, 2021). However, the term 'homeless support worker' is used less in Taiwan. A similar word for a homeless support worker in Taiwan's context is a 'wanderer social worker' (i.e., 遊民社工) (Huang, 2021a, 2021b). I maintain that the

term homeless support worker is interchangeable with wanderer social worker in Taiwan's context. There are two reasons for this claim. First, support or social workers refer to those providing homeless services. Second, seeing 'wanderer social worker' in English publications might confuse readers attempting to understand homelessness in Taiwan. I chose homeless support workers as participants in my interview design because the interview data regarding their everyday practices can be used to answer one of my overarching questions about the motivations and hopes for individuals to become support workers who continue homeless service provision in precarity.

3.4.2 Ethical Considerations

The ethical considerations regarding interviews include five key factors: clarity in interview documents, the confidentiality of interviewees' information, power dynamics between a researcher and an interviewee, a reasonable reward for (Hay & Cope, 2021) data storage (Hay & Cope, 2021). Regarding clarity in interview documents (i.e., interview schedule, participant observation sheet, and consent form), I followed ethical considerations when I sent my interview documents to all participants by email (i.e., Gmail) or social media (i.e., LINE[7] or Facebook) and informed them that I was happy to answer any questions about the documents. Before the interview started, I asked the interviewee about any potential confusion about the attached documents and conducted this for all participants. Some participants were confused, and I explained the attached documents in Mandarin to ensure they fully understood the meaning of the material. In terms of the confidentiality of interviewees' information, in all interviews, I informed the interviewee that all personal details would remain confidential and that the details were anonymised by using pseudonyms and removing identifiable information from the research record. Regarding the power dynamics between a researcher and an interviewee, I carefully considered how to use words in conversation with the participant to avoid offending or making him or her uncomfortable. I met a situation sometimes in which an interviewee became unhappy when I asked questions about his/her care work in precarity. In this situation, I always told my own story to the

[7] LINE is a social media app that offers a variety of features, including communication, entertainment, lifestyle, fintech, and gaming. The app is commonly used in Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, and Thailand (LINE, 2024).

interviewee, saying that I had experienced a similar situation as a practitioner in a non-profit organisation. After this, I usually continued the question. A few times, I changed the question to relax interviewees and then returned to the question to finish the interview.

In terms of a reasonable reward for the interviewees, I gave all interviewees a small pack of tea bags or a tote bag, costing less than 2 GBP, only after the interview. There were two reasons for giving these two items as the reward. First, a small pack of tea bags from Britain (i.e., Whittard tea) is embedded with the symbolic value of British tea. Many interviewees chose the tea bags with surprise that they had Whittard tea from Britain as the reward for being interviewed. In doing so, I minimised the risk that participants would feel discomfort when they conducted interviews voluntarily but received an overvalued reward (Head, 2009).Regarding the reward of a tote bag, the image of Housing First (see Figure 9) was printed as a symbolic value in the homeless sector for advocating for housing-led homeless services as a global movement. Some interviewees said they liked the image of Housing First on the bag to support the advocacy. On the other hand, a tote bag is commonly used by people in Taiwan to carry shopping. Many interviewees smiled when they received this reward and said they would use the bag for shopping. I ordered 50 tote bags with an image from a Chinese website (i.e., Taobao), which cost me about 60 GBP[8] in total, meaning each bag was only 0.83 GBP. In doing so, the tote bag was deemed to be another reasonable reward for my interviewees.

[8] The exchange rate between TWD and GBP is based on that on 10th July 2024 (Xe, 2024).

Figure 11 Reward of a tote bag

(Author)

Regarding data storage, this is a structure designed to not only categorise and sort research data, but also to ensure research data is secured and retrievable (Lin, 2009). I followed the University of Southampton policy (Research Data Management Policy, 2019) to manage my data based on three fundamental principles: data storage, data security, and data use and confidentiality. I stored all digital data on my university laptop (i.e., Dell Latitude 5400). Indeed, I uploaded all the data to the University of Southampton's OneDrive for storage. I created passwords on my laptop to secure all digital data, and I locked all paper data in my office room drawers. In terms of data use and confidentiality, I only shared anonymous interview data if necessary. I will follow the University of Southampton's policy of saving all interview data for 10 years (2023 to 2033).

3.4.3 Recruitment and Interviewing

I used the *snowball* sampling technique to recruit participants for my research. Snowballing is a sampling technique involving finding participants for a research project by asking existing participants to recommend others interested in the study (Cameron, 2021). I started the sampling technique after receiving ethics approval from the University of Southampton on 31st January 2023. I first contacted two types of local people in the agencies providing homeless services in Taipei for recruitment. The first type contained the local people I had connected with as a voluntary practitioner (2016-2019). I used email as the primary approach to contacting two of the people. I attached my interview schedule, participant information sheet (Appendix C), research project (Appendix A.A.4), and interview consent form (Appendix A.A.3) to the contact emails and explained the meaning of the attachments. All of them agreed to have an interview with me after my initial contact.

The second type contained local people I had no connection with for recruitment. The main reason was that some new charities or social enterprises for homeless services arrived after I was a practitioner in the voluntary sector in Taiwan. I was convinced that participants in these new voluntary organisations were valuable for recruitment for interviews. They demonstrated new types of innovative homeless services on their websites, such as painting therapy for homeless people, health care on the street for homeless people, and so on. I used email as the primary approach to contacting three local people. Again, I attached my interview schedule, participant information sheet, interview consent form, and details of my research project to the contact emails, and I explained the meaning of the attachments. All of them agreed to have an interview with me after my initial contact.

The five local people recruited through my initial contact became my first participants. They recommended other homeless support workers or managers for interviews. Each of them recommended at least one potential participant to me, associated with my previous practitioner experience, which might have made them think I was a like-minded person who had experienced offering similar precarious care. After this, I used snowball sampling to achieve 55 interviews for my fieldwork (from January to June 2023). Some of my participants recommended someone who had already been

recommended by other participants, so they did not actually help me recruit participants for snowball sampling. I asked all the participants to read my interview schedule, participant information sheet, interview consent form, and the details of the research project attached to each contact email. I requested that they sign the consent form before the interviews started. All the participants had read and signed the consent form before the interviews.

I conducted all my interviews in three phases. First, I asked the participant about any potential confusion regarding the attached documents. Some participants were confused, and I explained the attached documents in Mandarin to ensure they fully understood the meaning, as mentioned above. Then, I introduced myself to build trust with the participant and included my previous practitioner experience and my present identity as a PhD student at a UK university studying homelessness in Taiwan. In the second phase, I interviewed the participant, and I was aware that the interview process included changing power dynamics between the interviewer and the participant (Campbell, 2003; Hay & Cope, 2021). Hence, I carefully considered how to use words in conversation with the participant to avoid offending or making him or her uncomfortable[9]. In the last phase, I finished all the interview questions and rewarded the participant (i.e., tea bags or a tote bag) with an item costing less than 2 GBP in 2023, as demonstrated above. Higher-valued rewards may increase the risk that participants feel discomfort when they conduct interviews voluntarily (Head, 2009). The reward value to my participants was reasonably associated with the reward value being less than half the minimum wage in Taiwan in 2023, which was around 4.5 GBP per hour (Ministry of Labor, 2023).

[9] For example, I met a situation a few times in which an interviewee became unhappy when I asked questions about their care work in precarity. In this situation, I usually told my own story to the interviewee, saying that I had experienced a similar situation as a practitioner in a non-profit organisation. After this, I either continued the topic or changed the subject. Then, I returned to the question to finish the interview. This approach was usually helpful to reassure the participant.

3.4.4 Interview Number and Length

I interviewed 21 key informants (see Table 2): 21 managers and one policymaker. The 21 managers included many employees in senior positions who had worked for over five years in the same agency managing voluntary organisations (e.g., registered non-profit associations) or public institutions (e.g., public drop-in centres) in the homeless sector. The managers also included self-employed care providers who had worked in voluntary organisations (e.g., small social enterprises) in the homeless sector for over five years. A few of the key informant managers had experienced street homelessness (i.e., staying on the streets) or hidden homelessness (i.e., living in inadequate housing) (see Appendix B). On the other hand, the policymaker key informant was a local councillor in the Taipei City Government who developed and implemented homeless policies in Taipei. I interviewed 33 homeless support workers who worked in voluntary organisations or public institutions in Taipei, New Taipei, and Taichung. Most of them had worked in the same position for over three years, some had worked for over eight years, and a few had worked for less than one year in the same position.

Table 2 Number of key informants and participants

City	Type	Agency	Manager	Policy-maker	Homeless support worker
Taipei	Voluntary organisation	Registered non-profit association	12	0	23
		Registered social enterprise	1	0	1
	Public institution	Public drop-in centre	4	0	6
		Local council	0	1	0
New Taipei and Taichung	Voluntary organisation	Registered non-profit association	4	0	2
		Registered social enterprise	0	0	0
	Public institution	Public drop-in centre	0	0	1
		Local council	0	0	0
		Total	21	1	33

Regarding the locations of the voluntary organisations mentioned above, most of them were in the Wanhua District (see Table 3). Some organisations were in Zhongzheng District, and one voluntary organisation was in Datong District. Some of the voluntary organisations were beyond Taipei, in the cities of New Taipei and Taichung. In terms of the locations of the public institutions mentioned above, each field site had at least one public drop-in centre, and the Wanhua District had three (see Table 3). This is because the Taipei government required each Taipei district to have at least one public drop-in centre for welfare provision. The Wanhua District had a visibly large number of

homeless people and had more financial support from the government, enabling the district to have three public drop-in centres for helping homeless people. There was only one public drop-in centre beyond Taipei (i.e., New Taipei) in this research.

Table 3 Sample agencies for homeless support

City	Field site	Inner-city district	Voluntary organisation	Public institution
Taipei	Wanhua	Yes	8	3
	Zhongzheng	Yes	3	1
	Datong	Yes	1	1
	Zhongshan	Yes	0	1
	Songshan	No	0	1
	Shilin	No	0	1
	Nangang	No	0	1
New Taipei	No	No	2	1
Taichung	No	No	1	0
	Total		15	10

Regarding the length of the interviews, the average time of the 55 interviews was 1 hour and 34 minutes, which includes the shortest (28 minutes and 34 seconds) and the longest (2 hours, 54 minutes). The main reason for the average time of my interviews being above 1 hour was that most of the interviewees wanted to tell their experiences and stories of precarious care for homeless people. Their stories usually demonstrated many details, which helped collect in-depth data, but were also time-consuming. I always asked an interviewee whether he/she needed a five-minute break if the interview was over 1 hour. A few interviewees took a break to go to the toilet and then returned to finish the interview. The 55 interviews included four virtual interviews and 51 face-to-face ones. All four virtual interviews were conducted through Google Meet. Only one interview had a 10-second frozen screen, associated with a weak Wi-Fi signal. I asked the interviewee to repeat that part of her conversation which I had not understood during the 10-second frozen screen time, and she helpfully repeated it for me. The 51 face-to-face interviews were conducted either in office rooms or cafés. The office

rooms were private so that interviews with participants could be conducted confidentially. I chose quiet cafés during off-peak times to ensure that my participants and I conducted interviews confidentially. I always used three voice recorders, in case one of the recorders didn't work properly, while conducting face-to-face interviews to collect good-quality data for data analysis.

3.4.5 Interview Data Analysis and Management

Qualitative data analysis involves making sense of relevant data gathered from interviews, observation, and documents, and then responsibly presenting what the data reveal (Goodrick & Rogers, 2015). In the analysis process, qualitative data can be analysed deductively (i.e., developing a priori codes) and inductively (i.e., developing codes in the process of analysis) in iterative processes (Bingham, 2023). My interview data analysis included the two stages of transcribing audio and video recordings into written records and then analysing the written records through an iterative process, deductively and inductively.

The transcribing stage had two phases. In the first phase, I converted all virtual interview recordings into audio recordings (i.e., MP3 files). After this, I imported all interview audio recordings into software (i.e., iFLYTEK) for automated transcription. This software precisely automated the transcription of my audio recordings into Mandarin written records as interview transcripts. In addition, the company of iFLYTEK (2022) guarantees that each automated transcribing process is permanently classified under anonymisation. In the second phase, I reviewed all the interview transcripts to ensure all recordings had been transcribed automatically. After this, I corrected any incorrectly written words in each interview transcript by listening to the audio recordings. Many of the words written incorrectly in the interview transcripts were related to the local dialect (Hokkien) used by participants in the interviews, with which the transcribing software was unfamiliar. I corrected these words as I was fluent in the dialect. After the transcribing stage had finished, I started conducting interview data analysis based on the deductive and inductive approaches to analysing qualitative data (Bingham, 2023),which included the five phases of organising, categorising, understanding, interpreting, and explaining the data (see Figure 10).

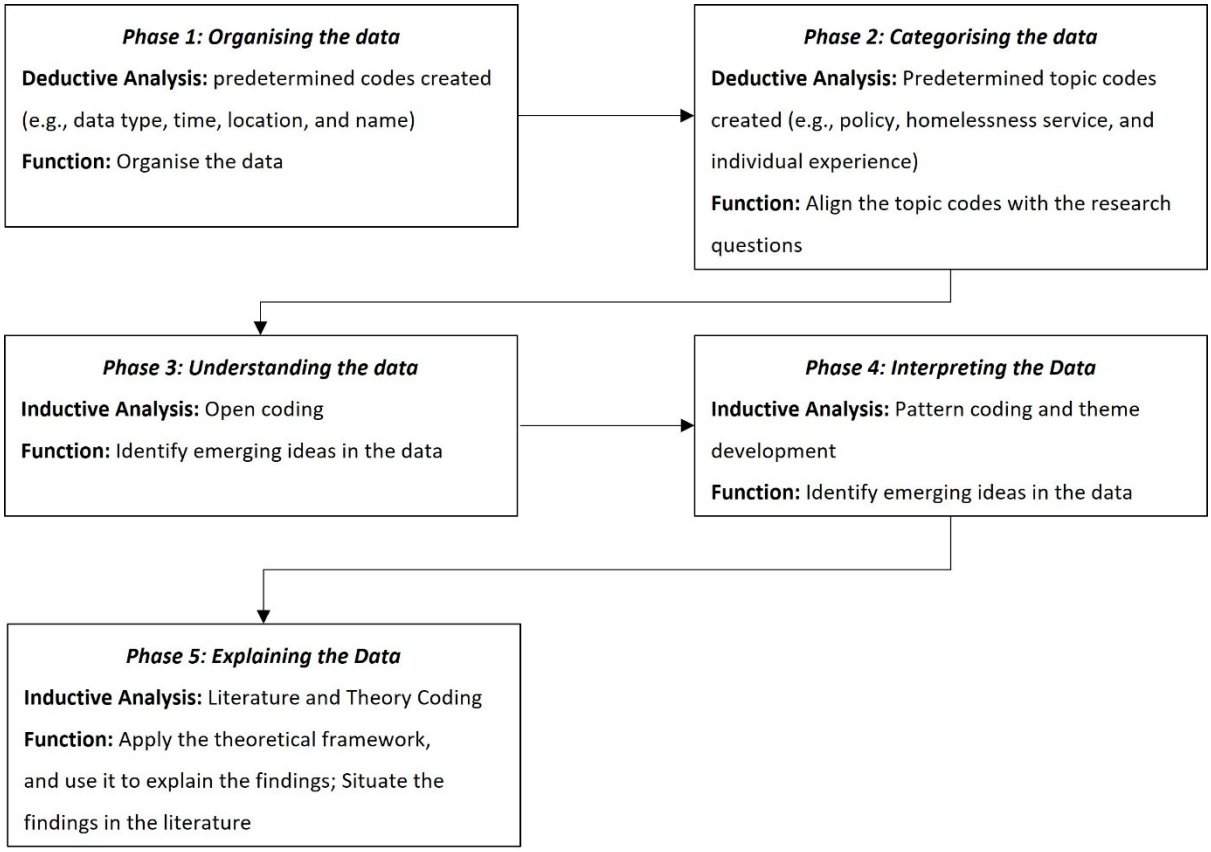

Figure 12 The five-phase process of data analysis

(By author)

In the first phase of data organisation, I imported the data from all the edited interview transcripts into NVivo. I also imported all the data in the field notes from participant observation. I will explain the field notes and how I collected and analysed them in the next section. After this, I named the two data types using predetermined codes as my deductive strategy for organising and managing the data. For instance, the data from the interview transcripts and the field notes have a name which includes (1) the data type, (2) the time, (3) the location, and (4) the pseudonym of the participant. After this, the analysis moved to the second phase of data categorisation. I used the deductive strategy to create predetermined Mandarin *topic codes* based on the three overarching research questions mentioned above to categorise my data, such as the topic codes of 政策 (policy), 無家者服務 (homeless service), and 個體日常實踐 (individual everyday practice). In doing so, I was able to align my research questions with the topic codes for the next phase of inductive analysis.

In the third phase, I applied an inductive strategy to analyse the data on policy, homeless services, and individual everyday practice. This involved breaking down the

data into segments as the open codes for coding (Bingham, 2023). For example, I first broke down the topic code of policy to create open codes such as 政府補助 (government funding), 社福補助 (welfare benefits), 住屋 (housing), and so on. These open codes played a crucial role in connecting the data segments and the topic codes of policy, homeless services, and individual everyday practice. This process allowed me to build sets of facts and ideas to form general principles regarding homelessness in Taiwan. Afterwards, I broke down the rest of the topic codes, one by one, to create open codes and then explored the connections between the open codes and all the topic codes. I realised a few open codes were only connected to a topic code, most open codes were connected to two topic codes, and many open codes were connected to all three topic codes. I reviewed each piece of open data to define and apply it for further analysis. I also identified valuable emerging ideas in this analytic process, and the topics helped develop my research themes to enable them to contribute to the existing literature on the geographies of homelessness.

In the fourth phase of interpreting the data, I conducted inductive analysis to understand the relationships between the open data to create primary and subthemes in my research. For instance, I identified the key ideas frequently mentioned by participants, such as 領不到社福補助 (inaccessible welfare benefits), 家庭扶養義務 (mutual familial obligation for welfare), and so on. Then, I turned the key ideas into *pattern codes* to examine the relationships between the codes. In doing so, I was able to justify that inaccessible welfare benefits and familial welfare responsibility are highly related to social policies and services for homeless people in Taiwan. Eventually, I was able to explore the connections between pattern codes and theories to provide nuance and contribute to the literature on geographies of homelessness in the last phase.

In the last phase of data explanation, I applied a deductive approach to identify the relations between pattern codes as *empirical findings* and the existing literature to provide nuance. I created *theory codes* that included the concepts used in the existing literature to explore such relations. For instance, I created the theory code ‘neoliberalism and policy’ based on the existing literature (Brenner et al., 2010; Cloke et al., 2010; DeVerteuil, 2015; Power et al., 2019) to explore the connections between theoretical concepts and the pattern code of ‘inaccessible welfare benefits’. I also created another theory code of ‘Confucianism and the welfare state’ based on the

literature (Goodman et al., 1998; Walker & Wong, 2005) for exploration. Eventually, I was able to use my empirical findings to understand the intersections of neoliberalism and Confucianism in homeless services development and provision in Taiwan, providing nuance based on the East Asian experience to the theoretical concepts in the existing Western literature mentioned above, such as variegated neoliberalism, resilience, hopeful adaptation, and so forth. In the next section, I will demonstrate how I conducted participant observation in Taipei and analysed the resulting data.

3.5 Participant Observation in Taipei

Participant observation is a method whereby the researcher is the instrument processing and recording his/her observations in a situation to produce empirical data and to understand phenomena in local contexts (Mukherjee, 2017). Researchers usually place themselves in situations in which they can participate and observe events. After this, they reflect on their identities (e.g., gender, class, race, and other formative experiences), and those identities influence the researchers' judgements on observation and participation (Watson, 2021). The researchers produce their situated knowledge by observing events, self-reflecting on their identities and perspectives on events, and recording the self-reflections as participant observation data (i.e., field notes).

Ways of conducting participant observation can be measured along a spectrum, which has at one extreme a researcher only participating in events and at the other only observing events to understand a phenomenon (Laurier, 2010; Watson, 2021). Practically, conducting both but prioritising one of the approaches in a situation (i.e., focusing on participating in or observing) is a sensible way to collect data instead of only conducting participation or observation (Watson, 2021). A strong motivation for collecting participant observation data is to help cross-check analysis with interview data to provide valuable empirical findings that can contribute to the existing literature (Joosse & Hracs, 2015).

I applied participant observation as my secondary method to complement the interview data. I placed myself within locations in the field sites in Taipei for three months (29th February to 29th May 2023), such as public spaces (e.g., parks, train stations, and local

communities), voluntary organisations (e.g., drop-in centres, shelters, job centres, and shower places), public institutions (e.g., drop-in centres, shelters, and job centres), and interview places (e.g., cafés and offices). This was done to produce my situated knowledge of homelessness in Taiwan. I participated in events, observed, and then recorded my perspectives on the events in the field sites, supported by my participant observation schedule as demonstrated in the following subsection. At the same time, I reflected on my identities, including my gender, race, and age (i.e., being a male Taiwanese at age 31 in 2023), job (i.e., a PhD student studying homelessness at a UK university), and previous work experience (i.e., a practitioner at a voluntary organisation in Taiwan for over three years). After reflecting, I wrote my observations and perspectives on the events as my participant observation data. This section will demonstrate what my participant observation initially explained from my research design, data collection, and analysis.

3.5.1 Research Design

I used participant observation as the secondary method to cross-check against my interview data to produce trustworthy empirical findings and answer the overarching research questions. I observed the interactions between actors (e.g., homeless people and homeless support workers) and agencies (voluntary organisations and public institutions). I also observed participants at events to understand their behaviours on providing or receiving homeless services and their perspectives on the services and homelessness in Taiwan. Based on these two key focuses, I created my participant observation schedule (see Table 4). In my research design, I chose the places for participant observation based on secondary data (e.g., newspapers, online videos, and podcasts) to include the field sites mentioned above. I assumed and included the interview places and times based on my previous experience of participant observation for my master's thesis in Taiwan (Pei, 2018).

I was aware that some participation in events related to homeless people, which I could not conduct, was requested by the research ethics policy (University of Southampton, 2012, 2021). For example, I could not contact homeless people directly by chatting, shaking hands with them, or giving them food or clothing. Hence, I prepared to conduct participant observation without contacting homeless people for data collection. For

example, I planned to join the local tours guided by people who have experienced homelessness before or by homeless support workers. I also planned to observe homeless people's daily lives in parks or train stations from a ‘safe’ distance to avoid contact with them and violating the ethics policy. I planned that if I took photographs including homeless people, I would only ask homeless support workers near me to help obtain the homeless people’s permission indirectly. I prepared two tools for my textual records: a paper notebook and a smartphone (i.e., iPhone SE 2022) and two audio recording devices (i.e., the smartphone and my university work laptop).

Table 4 Participant observation schedule

Location	Potential participation	Potential observation	Time	Frequency
Parks	No	How do homeless people stay overnight? How do agencies give food aid to homeless people? How do police manage homeless people?	30 minutes	Three times a week
Train stations	Local tour	How are local tours on homelessness conducted? What are the attitudes of participants and passengers to the local tour on homeless people? How do homeless people stay overnight? How do agencies give food aid to homeless people? How do police manage homeless people?	30 minutes	Three times a week
Local communities	Local tour speech	How are a local tour and a speech on homelessness conducted? What are the attitudes of residents and participants to homeless people?	60 minutes	Three times a week
Public drop-in centres	No	How do care providers interact with homeless people?	60 minutes	Once a week

Voluntary drop-in centres	No	How do care providers interact with homeless people?	60 minutes	Once a week
Shelters	No	How do care providers interact with homeless people? Are shelters adequate for homeless people staying temporarily? What do homeless people do?	60 minutes	Once in two weeks
Public job centres	No	How do care providers interact with homeless people?	60 minutes	Once a week
Voluntary job centres	No	How do care providers interact with homeless people?	60 minutes	Once a week
Shower places	No	How do care providers interact with homeless people?	60 minutes	Once a week
Cafés or restaurants	Interviewing	What are the reactions from participants in interviews?	60 to 120 minutes	Don’t know
Offices	Interviewing	What are the reactions from participants in interviews?	60 to 120 minutes	Don’t know

3.5.2 Ethical Considerations

Before my fieldwork, I knew many of the ethical issues related to participant observation, including the fundamental principle of gaining informed consent. This, along with respecting participants' autonomy, managing data storage, and maintaining privacy and confidentiality, formed the core of my ethical considerations. During each participant observation, I demonstrated the participant information sheet to participants (see Appendix C) to inform them of the purposes of my research and to gain their consent for it. I applied three steps to demonstrate the sheet for participants' consent. First, I sent an email attaching the sheet to all event organisers to gain their approval to conduct participant observation at their events. Second, before events started, I read the details on my participant information sheet to participants and informed them that they could refuse to participate for any reason. Last, I posted an A1-size poster of the information sheet (see Figure 11) on a wall so that each participant could read the details themselves. I stood next to the poster to answer the participants' questions if they could not fully understand or read the information. I will further explain how I demonstrated the sheet to request consent from participants in the later sections.

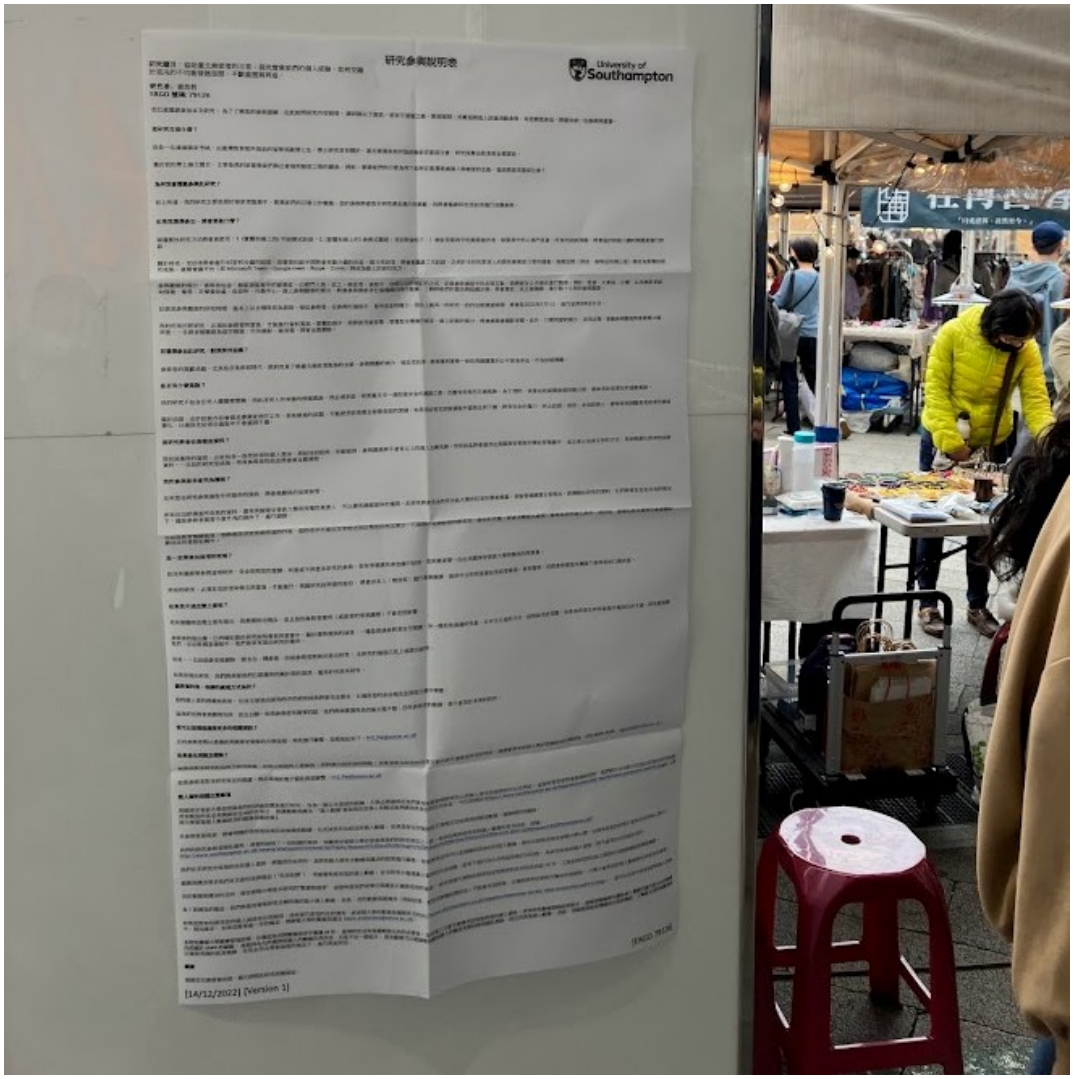

Figure 13 Demonstration of my participant information sheet

(By author)

I had two main ethical dilemmas when conducting participant observation during my fieldwork. First, I could not directly contact homeless people during each participant observation. Hence, I only collected participant observation data without directly contacting homeless people. For instance, when I observed a scene in Bangka Park, many people seemed to be homeless people who were staying in the park. I walked through the park slowly to observe the scene. Then, I went into a café or a metro station near the park to sit and write down the actions I had followed shortly afterwards. As another example, I saw a few homeless people on the streets when I participated in a local tour as the event selected for participant observation. I chose not to contact them and not to record their behaviour because I only collected observation data on participants who agreed to it.

The second ethical dilemma was that I had to choose a suitable place for recording my observation data. I had covertly written down my observations of the park above because I could have made contact with homeless people there if I had recorded my observations overtly. As mentioned above, I went to a café or a metro station near the park to record the observation data about things that happened there. In addition, most of my field diaries were recorded covertly at home on the same day as conducting participant observation because I needed a quiet place to record them. On the other hand, I usually overtly recorded observation data at events when conducting participant observation. For example, I used my paper notebook to record my observation data on local tours when the guide talked about matters related to local tours. As another example, when I participated in a speech advocating for homeless people, I used my paper notebook to write down my observation data on the speech. This was acceptable because some participants in the speeches also wrote notes in their notebooks during a speech. I will explain how I recorded my observation data in the later sections.

Regarding participants' privacy and confidentiality, I did not write any of the participants' full names but used anonymous names and the date for observation instead. For example, I recorded 'P1, the speech, 23/3/2023' as 'Participant One at the speech on 23rd March 2023' in my paper notebook to anonymously record the participant's behaviour confidentially. As another example, I recorded 'Me, the speech, 23/3/2023' as 'Me (Hao-Che Pei), the speech, on 23rd March 2023' to record my reflections. In addition, once I realised it, I immediately erased any identifiable information on the participants from my paper notebook. In managing my participant observation data, I stored all digital data on my university laptop (i.e., Dell Latitude 5400). I also uploaded all the data to the University of Southampton's OneDrive for storage. Regarding data security, I created passwords on my laptop to secure all digital data, and I locked all paper data in my office room drawers. In terms of data use and confidentiality, I only shared anonymous participant observation data if necessary. I will follow the University of Southampton policy in saving all the data for 10 years (2023 to 2033).

3.5.3 Recruitment and Data Collection

I recruited participants and categorised them into two types for participant observation: a focus on *participation* (supported by observation) (see Table 5); a different kind of *observation* (involving some participation) will be demonstrated later. The first type of participant observation involved a local tour guided by an individual who had experienced homelessness before my fieldwork. The participant observation also involved another local tour guided by a homeless support worker. The participant observation involved a speech conducted by an individual who had experienced homelessness before my fieldwork, and a homeless support worker to help the individual perform the speech.

Regarding the two local tours, I first purchased an online ticket to join each local tour at a reasonable price (below 15 GBP) one month before the events. After this, I contacted each local tour organiser for approval to recruit the guides as participants in participant observation. Then, I contacted the guides for them to approve my participant observation of them. On the day of the local tours, I informed the guides in person again about my participant observation, and then I confirmed their consent before the tours started. Afterwards, I informed the rest of the participants in two steps: the volunteers and audiences in the local tours. First, I read the details on my participant information sheet to each local tour participant. Second, I posted the sheet (A1 size) on a wall to ensure the participants knew about and agreed to what was being proposed. The number of audience members on each tour was above 20. A few of the participants asked about taking photographs. They stated they did not want to be included in the pictures, to which I agreed and did not take any photographs.

For data collection on each local tour, I recorded my text field notes about the audience's interactions with the guide. For example, I overtly recorded the tour guide's discussions on homelessness in Taiwan with the audience in my notebook, including the audience's questions and comments and the guide's responses. I overtly recorded my reflections on the talks between the audience and the guide during the tour. After each tour, I covertly recorded my feelings about the participants' perspectives at home on the same day. For example, I felt uncomfortable in their discussion of the importance of employment-led homeless services, which is associated with my

knowledge of the priority given to housing-led homeless services in Western contexts. This situated knowledge helped me rethink the characteristics of homeless services in Taiwan and the differences between those and the services provided in the West.

Table 5 Focus of the first type of participant observation

Location	Participation	Observation	Average time	Frequency
Train stations	The local tour was guided by a person experienced homelessness before my fieldwork.	Interactions between the local tour guide and participants.	120 minutes	Once during the fieldwork
Local communities	The local tour was guided by a person experienced homelessness before my fieldwork. A local tour guided by a homeless support worker. A homeless support worker and the presenter, who experienced homelessness before my fieldwork, conducted the speech on homelessness.	Interactions between the local tour guides and participants. Interactions between the speech presenters and participants. The residents' attitudes on the local tours and participants.	120 minutes	Each tour once during the fieldwork
Cafés	Interviewing	Participants' reactions to interview questions.	120 minutes	Three times during the fieldwork
Offices	Interviewing	Participants' reactions to interview questions.	90 minutes	Forty-eight times during the fieldwork

In terms of my participant observation of the speech, I used the same approach of recruiting the local tour participants to the speech, which involved buying an online ticket (around 15 GBP per ticket), contacting the organiser and the presenters for approval, informing all the participants in person on the day of the speech, and posting my participant information sheet on a wall at the speech venue to ensure all participants knew about and agreed to it. The number of audience members for the

speech was over 15. No participant asked about my taking photographs; only one asked about my research contribution. This is because he was a master's student in homeless studies. I overtly recorded the discussions of the speech between the presenters and the audience. I also made records of my reflections on their discussions. For example, I wrote down my confusion about the advocacy of homelessness in this speech, in which the presenter seemed to criticise in-work homelessness but support employment-led homeless services instead of housing-led ones. Regarding the recruitment for the interviews, I conducted this using the interview recruitment method mentioned above. A few asked about the motive for conducting interviews and participant observation simultaneously. All the interview participants agreed to my interviewing observation after I answered that I planned to observe their interactions with me during the interview.

Regarding the second type of emphasis on observation (see Table 6), I categorised two locations for observation: facilities (e.g., drop-in centres, homeless shelters, job centres, and shower places) and public spaces (e.g., parks and train stations). I recruited participants to help me access the facilities or take photographs in the public spaces. I first asked the managers of the facilities for permission through emails or text messages via social media (i.e., Facebook and LINE). After obtaining consent, I asked the managers to help me recruit participants (i.e., homeless support workers) to access the facilities. In the facilities in which I conducted my observation, I observed and recorded the interactions during events between homeless people and homeless support workers. For instance, in a shower place, I observed and recorded a homeless support worker helping homeless people register their names to use the shower rooms. Some homeless people appreciated the help from the support workers. In addition, I observed homeless support workers' attitudes towards homeless people when they were involved in an activity. For instance, I saw and recorded a homeless support worker being unpleasant to a homeless person in a homeless shelter when the homeless person asked the worker if they could borrow some money. Then, the worker refused and told the homeless person that this borrowing was not the first time. I recorded the observation data covertly after the observation at a café, metro station, or at home on the same day.

Alongside this observation in public spaces, I recruited a few participants (i.e., homeless support workers) by contacting them through email or social media to help me photograph scenes involving homeless people. I only took photographs in public spaces after indirectly obtaining the consent of the homeless people in the pictures through the assistance of the participants. I had textual and audio records of homeless people's everyday practices, such as where they went and stayed in the public spaces and what they did. I also made records of the reactions of police, homeless support workers, and pedestrians to homeless people covertly on the same day after the observation. For instance, I recorded many pedestrians passing through the park while a number of homeless people stayed in it at night. Most of the pedestrians seemed to ignore the homeless people and were used to the scene in the park. The following subsection will demonstrate how I analysed my participant observation data.

Table 6 Emphasis on observation

Location	Observation	Average time	Frequency
Public drop-in centres	Interactions between homeless support workers and homeless people. The support workers' attitudes to homeless people.	15 minutes	Once a month
Voluntary drop-in centres	Interactions between homeless support workers and homeless people. The support workers' attitudes to homeless people.	15 minutes	Once in two weeks
Public homeless shelters	Interactions between homeless support workers and homeless people. The quality of rooms and beds for homeless people and homeless people's everyday life (e.g., eating and talking).	240 minutes	Twice during my fieldwork
Public job centres	Interactions between homeless support workers and homeless people. The support workers' attitudes to homeless people.	60 minutes	Once a month
Voluntary job centres	Interactions between homeless support workers and homeless people. The support workers' attitudes to homeless people.	60 minutes	Once a month
Shower places	Interactions between homeless support workers and homeless people.	60 minutes	Once a month
Parks	Homeless people's everyday life (e.g., staying overnight). Agencies' food aid to homeless people. Poverty management by police. Pedestrians 'reactions to homeless people.	15 minutes	Once a week
Train stations	Homeless people's everyday life (e.g., staying overnight). Employees' and passengers' reactions to homeless people and poverty management by police.	15 minutes	Once in two weeks

3.5.4 Data Analysis and Management

I analysed my participant observation data simultaneously with the interview data mentioned above. The participant observation data included the textual and audio data discussed above. I first typed out the textual data from my paper notebook and saved it as Microsoft Word files. Then, I used the software mentioned above (i.e., iFLYTEK) to transcribe my audio data into textual data. After this, I corrected each transcribed text while listening to the audio data to ensure all textual data was accurate. I imported all the participant observation data into NVivo in textual formats for coding.

I used the five phases of data analysis mentioned above to analyse my participant observation data with the interview data. In the first phase, I deductively named participant observation data using predetermined codes to organise and manage the data, such as (1) the data type, (2) the time, (3) the location, and (4) the pseudonym of the participant. In the second phase, I created some deductive and predetermined topic codes in Mandarin to categorise my participant observation and interview data, such as 遊民收容中心 (homeless shelters), 外展服務 (outreach services), and 就業服務 (employment services). Then, I attempted to align them with the research questions in English referred to above.

However, I faced a challenge in aligning the data to the questions. For instance, one of the questions is: How are homeless services provided by Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector, and what punitive and supportive characteristics do they exhibit? However, some participants used 民間單位 (i.e., non-profit organisations or private firms) to refer to organisations in the homeless sector, although they might have meant private firms instead of non-profit organisations. Hence, I confirmed the meaning of 民間單位 in the context of understanding whether participants referred to private firms. For example, there was a quotation of a question from a participant (P3, the local tour, 08th April 2023) recorded in my paper notebook: ''那個民間單位有捐餐給無家者嗎？''. In English, the sentence means, ''Did the 民間單位 of the private restaurant give food donations to homeless people?'' In this context, the meaning of 民間單位 refers to a private restaurant instead of a non-profit organisation. If I could not understand whether

a participant meant a non-profit organisation or a private firm by this word, I would certainly not have used the information from the participant for data analysis.

In the third phase, I broke down all topic codes to create open codes for exploring the connections between the topic and the open codes. In the fourth phase, I used the participant observation data to check the interview data for better analysis outcomes. I inductively analysed interview data supported by participant observation data to create primary and subthemes in my research. For instance, I identified that the code of 'inaccessible welfare benefits' related to most of the interview data and checked the value of this code as the primary theme through the codes of the participant observation data. Eventually, I confirmed that this idea was suitable as the primary theme because this code was also connected to most participant observation data. In the last phase, I used my participant observation data to help understand the relations between my empirical findings and the existing literature for possible contributions. For example, I used my participant observation data to cross-check the relationships between inaccessible welfare benefits, neoliberalism, social policies, and homelessness in Taiwan. After this, I was convinced such relationships existed and influenced homelessness in Taiwan.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how I carried out my qualitative research, which involved conducting a scoping review of the literature on homelessness in Taiwan, choosing Taiwan as the case study, including the three cities and the seven field sites, creating my research designs for the interviews and participant observation, collecting and analysing qualitative data, as well as following the rules for managing the data according to University of Southampton policy. I will demonstrate my empirical findings in the following three chapters (i.e., Chapters 4, 5, and 6). In the following chapter, I will use *revanchism* (May & Cloke, 2014; Smith, 1996) and the *shadow state* (DeVerteuil et al., 2020; Wolch, 1990) as two of the key concepts in the framework of the geographies of homelessness, to explore the characteristics of partly punitive social policies and homeless services in Taiwan, where the characteristics are shaped by Confucian and neoliberal ideas in the East Asian spatial dynamics of the fusion of Confucianism (and neoliberalism).

Chapter 4 Homeless Policies and Services in the Fusion of Confucianism

The voluntary sectors play a vital role in providing homeless services in the Global North (DeVerteuil, 2015; Trudeau, 2012). The voluntary sector has always existed as a space outside the state (Jones & Royles, 2020) and the sector encompasses different types of organisations, including international and national religious groups, local care groups, health and social care providers, and community support networks (Power & Skinner, 2019). However, as we saw in the literature review, in the Western context, the state employs neoliberal discourses to attract the voluntary sector to collaborate in providing homeless services and conducting welfare reform under neoliberalism, involving the roll-out of privatisation of welfare services of health and social care, on the one hand, and the roll-back from Keynesian welfare expansion of collective welfare provision and consumption on the other as a roll-out and roll-back neoliberalism (Cloke et al., 2010; DeVerteuil, 2015).

For example, Power & Skinner (2019) demonstrate how the spatial dynamics of roll-out and roll-back neoliberalism shape the Western context's complex relationships between the voluntary sector and the state. When neoliberal discourses of deinstitutionalised welfare services provision to the voluntary sector and encourage the voluntary sector to provide community-based welfare services in the market from a theory became a practice in the 1970s (Dear & Wolch, 1987; Harvey, 2005), the supplementary role that the voluntary sector occupied within the welfare state changed (Power et al., 2021). Community care received policy attention, and the state increased government funding for the voluntary sector to provide welfare services, including homeless services (Wolch, 1990). This has become the policy solution in the Western context, and the state revitalised the voluntary sector for care provision under the neoliberal discourse as a *panacea* (Power & Skinner, 2019). For example, in the late 1990s, the UK government employed the neoliberal discourse of the Third Way to strengthen the collaboration with the voluntary sector by giving increased welfare budgets for community-based care services. In this collaboration, the state not only encouraged the voluntary sector to provide services in communities in the social

economy (e.g., non-profit for hiring and social-driven business) but also asked marginalised groups to be self-regulated to carry out paid work or attendance for job training to receive welfare benefits (Amin et al., 2002).

However, this revitalisation of the voluntary sector was deemed paradoxical because the voluntary sector provided non-profit care services whilst making the care services more market-led under governmental funding contracts. This *paradox* is fundamental, giving rise to 'the shadow state' in the Western context (Power & Skinner, 2019; Trudeau, 2008; Wolch, 1990). In addition, this revitalisation of the voluntary sector made the sector a more significant player in dealing with the casualties of international fiscal crises after the state significantly shifted the welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector (Power & Hall, 2018; Power & Skinner, 2019). Since then, the voluntary sector has been pulled into a precarious position for providing care services when it relies on short-term governmental, non-statutory, or self-funding for community-based care services provision (Power & Hall, 2018). In so doing, the voluntary sector provides community-based care in *precarity* after the 2008 financial crisis. Many states in the Western context began following austerity policies to cut public budgets on welfare expenditures but also encourage the voluntary sector to, on the one hand, meet welfare funding demand through non-statutory funding in the competitive bidding system and, on the other, provide more market-led care services to generate income for self-reliance on care provision (Power et al., 2021; Power & Skinner, 2019). Beyond the Western context, the relationships between the voluntary sector, the shadow state, and community-based care services may not entirely echo the concepts of panacea, paradox, and precarity. This is because roll-back and roll-out neoliberalism mainly shape the Western welfare states (Brenner et al., 2010; Peck & Theodore, 2019b). Indeed, outside the neoliberal regulatory universe, neoliberalism tends to be conceived in engaging with national developmental models, including parts of East Asia (Brenner et al., 2010).

4.1 Theoretical Framework and Contribution

The geographies of homelessness and the voluntary sector are emerging in East Asia, with some cases only in Japan (DeVerteuil et al., 2022; Toshio et al., 2023). The term 'the voluntary sector' is less used in East Asian studies and is usually used interchangeably

with the terms ‘civil society’ and ‘nonprofit sector’ in East Asia (Hsiao, 2017; Kim, 2004; Osborne, 2003; Wang, 2007). Existing East Asian literature refers to the welfare states developed under developmentalism involving the contradiction between state-led economic development and market-led welfare provision (Kwon, 2005; Lee, 2009; Choi, 2013). In addition, the welfare states in East Asia have not experienced roll-out/roll-back neoliberalism because the East Asian welfare states have not experienced the Keynesian style of collective welfare provision and consumption between the late 1940s and the late 1970s (Goodman et al., 1998; Park et al., 2012; White & Goodman, 2006). Hence, the voluntary sector is not shaped under roll-out/roll-back neoliberalism. However, the voluntary sectors in East Asia play a significant role in shouldering welfare services provision with the market for ‘collective familial welfare needs’, supported by little governmental funding (Goodman et al., 1998; Ikels, 2004; Walker & Wong, 2005). The existing literature demonstrates that Confucianism is crucial in coupling neoliberalism and reconciling the contradiction between state-led economic development and market-led welfare provision (Park et al., 2012; Walker & Wong, 2005).

I will conceptualise Taipei as one of the post-revanchist cities (DeVerteuil, 2019) in local contexts. Taipei can be understood as a post-revanchist city in East Asia in three ways. Firstly, the local state in Taipei has co-opted with the market to gentrify inner-city areas for profit-oriented economic production under neoliberalism (Jou et al., 2016). Additionally, the state manages homeless individuals to stay in specific public spaces in Taipei and requires street-homeless people to be self-sufficient, primarily through employment without housing support as a form of punishment (Huang, 2019), which partially aligns with the neoliberal discourse of workfare (Peck, 2001). However, this local and neoliberal governance of homeless people is not ‘purely’ punitive. This is because neoliberal discourses have fused with Confucian ones to become the alternative in Taiwan. For example, the Taipei government prioritises mutual family welfare support as the primary approach to meeting the needs of homeless people. In this context, ‘sending homeless people back home’ is the primary homeless service conducted in Taipei (Huang, 2021). Based on the research findings in Chapters 4 and 5, I will argue that Confucian care ethics influences the Taipei government's homeless services. Confucian care ethics not only make the neoliberalisation of welfare provision incomplete but also shape homeless services in Taipei to have supportive characteristics.

Based on the findings below, Confucian care ethics have influenced homeless services in Taiwan to become more supportive. The state and the voluntary sector prioritise family-based homeless services, such as helping homeless people contact their family members. The state and the voluntary sector sometimes even help homeless people reconnect with their family members to meet their needs through mutual family support.

Secondly, the findings demonstrate that Confucian care ethics do not just drive the Taiwan state and the voluntary sector as moral principles, but also the legislation (Public Assistance Act, 2015) requires them to provide the family-based homeless services mentioned above. These family-based homeless services may help homeless individuals meet their financial and emotional welfare needs, providing a supportive characteristic. However, Confucian care ethics can be fused and mutated with neoliberal notions to punish homeless people by asking them to be self-sufficient with little government funding. This is because the state may assign welfare responsibilities to families as a 'custom' and an excuse for individuals to meet the needs of a Confucian society. However, there is limited literature which examines how alternative care ethics shape homeless services in Taiwan under neoliberal and Confucian discourses.

Based on the research findings in Chapters 4 and 5, I will demonstrate the Taiwanese characteristics of homeless services to provide a contextual understanding of how homeless services are shaped by a blend of Confucian and neoliberal discourses, which are both supportive and punitive. It involves Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector's ambivalent attitudes towards homeless policies and services, based on a fusion of Confucian care ethics and neoliberalism; for example, the variety of perspectives within the state and the voluntary sector on mutual family support for well-being, as well as their anxiety to end family-based homeless services.

Finally, based on the findings in Chapters 4 and 6, I argue that homeless services in Taiwan are more supportive. Homeless services are shaped by Confucian care ethics, which emphasises the moral principle of collective familial well-being, a value actively promoted by the state and the voluntary sector. For example, supportive homeless services help homeless people rebuild their kinship through co-production, enabling them to return to their families of origin for welfare support. The findings also demonstrate that if homeless people refuse to return to their families, Confucian care

ethics could motivate some homeless individuals to ease the financial burden on their families by seeking welfare support through paid work, thereby learning to become self-sufficient.

This differs from the Western context and approach of prioritising adequate housing for training homeless people to become self-sufficient as the main supportive characteristic (DeVerteuil, 2019). Indeed, it means the neoliberal discourse of individual self-sufficiency will be challenging to complete in a Confucian society. Meanwhile, this neoliberal discourse seems to become a 'catalyst' instead of a 'threat' to help the voluntary sector to rethink Confucian care ethics of collective familial well-being. Indeed, the voluntary sector in Taiwan conducts policy campaigns to 'adjust' the homeless policy to continue the legal duty of mutual family support instead of abolishing it.

This chapter employs the significant concepts of revanchism and poverty management in the theoretical framework of the geographies of homelessness to answer the research question demonstrated in the literature review Chapter: How has the blend of neoliberalism and Confucianism in Taiwan shaped the complex relations between social policies and homeless services? I will demonstrate my empirical findings on homeless services in Taiwan to contribute to the geographies of homelessness and the voluntary sector in East Asia. I will demonstrate the findings on what homeless policies and homeless services exist in Taiwan and use the findings to understand the extent of relevance to revanchism conceptualised in Western cities (DeVerteuil et al., 2009; Smith, 1996), when neoliberal coupes with Confucianism in Taiwan influence voluntary and public actors' and agencies' behaviours. This chapter draws on the complex relationships between the voluntary sector and the state to explore social policies and homeless services shaped by local contexts. This means the paradoxical perspectives of the state for implementing social policies and providing homeless services will be demonstrated as the most effective approach to understanding how the blend of neoliberalism and Confucianism shapes social policies and homeless services in Taiwan. (Post-) Revanchist City in the Fusion of Confucianism

Before demonstrating the empirical findings, I must explain the historical context of the term 'poverty' from the autocratic monarchy (Ching Dynasty as 清朝, 1644-1912) to the

Republic of China (also known as the political regime in Taiwan). It is the only way to comprehend the meaning of poverty and homelessness in Taiwan or other societies in the Greater China Area (e.g., Singapore, Hong Kong, and China). Also, it is the only way to justify that the voluntary sector has always existed as a space outside the state in Taiwan when the republic regime of Taiwan echoes the Westphalian state principle. Indeed, the discussion on the relationships between the state, the market, and civil society is based on the Westphalian state principle (Swyngedouw, 2005).

In the Western context, 'poverty' is typically understood at an individual level and refers to a 'person' who lacks a usual or socially acceptable amount of money or material possessions (Britannica, 2024). In contrast, poverty in Mandarin is '貧窮'. In the Ching Dynasty, the meaning of poverty referred to the Confucian idea of older people without a spouse/child or orphans (鰥寡孤獨) as the essential poverty issue to deal with in the autocratic monarchy (Leung, 1997), which is different from the Western definition of poverty. The 'dysfunctional family' is the primary poverty issue because individuals cannot meet their welfare demands through mutual assistance from their family members. The monarchy's local authorities, gentries, and religious groups play a supporting role in providing food aid and job opportunities to help them survive (Lin, 2012). In terms of people without poverty in the Ching Dynasty, they were disciplined by moral principles based on the Confucian philosophy involving the parents' duty to meet their children's welfare needs as parental love (慈) intertwined with the children's duty to satisfy their parents' needs as children love (孝) to build the mutual kinship for welfare as parental and children love (父慈子孝) (Ikels, 2004). Also, people without poverty were disciplined by another Confucian idea of family harmony (家庭和諧) that a family member must help other members to keep the mutual kinship, such as spouses helping their partners to meet their father- or mother-in-law welfare needs, grandchildren helping their parents meet theirs, grandparents helping their children and grandchildren meet theirs (Leung, 1997).

When the Ching Dynasty was overthrown by the Republic of China in 1912, the republic government preserved the Confucian ideas mentioned above and employed the ideas to develop the Civil Code (2021)implemented in 1929. In the Civil Code, the laws legalised the aforementioned moral principles as *maintenance* (扶養義務). The meaning of maintenance in Taiwan differs from that of the West. For instance, In the West,

maintenance is defined as ‘money that a person must pay regularly by law in order to support their child or previous marriage partner after ending a marriage officially (Cambridge Dictionary, 2024). In comparison, the definition of maintenance in Taiwan includes the payment not only to individuals’ child or previous marriage partner but also ‘(1) Younger lineal relatives by blood; (2) Elder lineal relatives by blood; (3) Head of the house; (4) Brothers and sisters; (5) Members of the house; (6) Daughter-in-law and son-in-law; (7) Parents of either the husband or the wife under legislation’ according to Article 1114 and 1115 in the Civil Code (2021). In short, the meaning of maintenance in Taiwan is based on not only the relationship of marriage but also the blood-degree relationships. In this context, Taiwanese people are required by the maintenance legislation to fulfil their mutual kinship and meet their family members' welfare needs collectively. Also, individual welfare needs must be primarily provided by families instead of the state, and the state plays a supportive role in assisting people in Taiwan to meet these needs (Lin, 2012). However, the state does not provide sufficient government grants to marginalised groups to fulfil their mutual kinship, while the state encourages families to fulfil this kinship mainly through market mechanisms (Ku, 1997; Li, 2022). This phenomenon is a typical example of how Confucianism fused with neoliberalism to shape social policy in Taiwan, one of the East Asian cases, which I will demonstrate empirical findings later to justify it.

Maintenance legislation in Taiwan is the local factor in preserving the Confucian ideas of parental and child love and family harmony, which are the local merits. However, the maintenance legislation is also the punishment for homeless people. It is because many homeless people experience family conflicts as the victims or the perpetrators of child abuse or domestic violence as not only the reason to escape from their home but also the obstacle to meeting their welfare needs through the mutual kinship in their dysfunctional families (Huang, 2021a). On the other hand, maintenance legislation is crucial in shaping social policy. The Public Assistance Act (2015) is the primary social policy in Taiwan to demonstrate the rules for dealing with homeless issues, when this Act is referred to as the maintenance legislation for developing and implementing the rules (Lin, 2012). In the English version of the Public Assistance Act (2015), homeless people are named ‘homeless person/people’. However, in the Mandarin version of the Public Assistance Act (2015), homeless people are named ‘遊民’ (wanderer). This

means that on the one hand, the English terms' homeless people' and' wanderers' are interchangeable in Taiwan, and, on the other, the state legally discriminates against homeless people in Taiwan under the Public Assistance Act to follow punitive policies. For example, in the Public Assistance Act (2015) the law (Article 17) demonstrates how the state requests the police to work with the local authority to deal with homeless issues in Taiwan:

> *If the police find a homeless person, with the exception of if the person has already made an application per another provision of law, the police shall immediately notify the department (unit) of social administration, find out the identity of the homeless, and cooperate with the department (unit) to send the homeless to a public assistance institution for shelter and assistance. When the identity is known, the family shall be notified.*

This article demonstrates that contacting homeless people's families is the primary aim of homeless services. However, this article is contested because many homeless people escaped from homes driven by their experience of being the victims or perpetrators of domestic violence. As one participant (F-WI15) stated: ''*Just like the situation that happened to my client (an anonymous name), his father treated him violently, hitting him often. Then, [his father] tied him up at home. So, this client escaped from home. He becomes homeless by the escape [of child abuse]*". However, local states follow this legislation to develop and implement their punitive homeless policies. For example, '臺北市遊民安置輔導自治條例 (The Guideline for Wanderer Accommodation in Taipei City)' is the primary local homeless law in Taipei and this local homeless law is based on the Public Assistance Act (Lin, 2012). Article 11 of this local law in English[10], the Taipei state implements the punitive law that:

> *When the authority has found out a homeless person's identity, the authority must: …… (2) Inform the homeless person's family member, legal guardian, or the individual responsible for the homeless person's*

[10] There is no official English Version of '臺北市遊民安置輔導自治條例 (The Guideline for Wanderer Accommodation in Taipei City)'. Hence, I translated the name of this law and the contents of Article 11 from Mandarin to English.

> *maintenance. If they, the family member, the legal guardian, or the individual responsible for fulfilling maintenance duty refuse to take the homeless person back, they would be considered as 'committing the crime of abandonment'. Suppose the homeless person's family member, the chaperone, or the individual responsible cannot afford the homeless person's maintenance. In that case, the Department of Social Welfare will intervene by the relevant laws.*

This local law demonstrates how the local state follows a punitive homeless policy to punish homeless people and their families. The approach of 'helping homeless people go back home' is primarily conducted by the local states, including Taipei, as the punitive homeless service (Huang, 2021a; Pan, 2006, 2009). The Taipei state possibly accuses homeless people's families of committing the crime of abandonment if they refuse to take homeless family members back home under laws (The Guideline for Wanderer Accommodation in Taipei City, 2014). This is Taipei's political climate of revanchism to deal with homeless issues, whilst the political climate in Taipei does not match exactly the one in US cities (e.g., New York and Los Angeles) (Smith, 1996). This is because the Taipei state co-opts with wealthy class and private-sector investors to implement the punitive homeless policy mentioned above, asking homeless people to meet welfare needs provided by their families mainly through market mechanisms with little financial support from the state. Here, the market mechanisms refer to the earnings from the formal or informal economy received by homeless people and their family members to meet the legal duty of mutual family support for their welfare needs. In the Taiwanese context, the term 'mutual family support' is interchangeable with the duty of 'maintenance'. However, this homeless policy is rooted in the Confucian concept of providing financial support to family members to maintain mutual kinship and promote collective familial well-being, which is considered a form of 'merit' in the local context. In other words, the homeless policy incorporates both punitive and supportive characteristics, on the one hand, and the supportive characteristic of maintaining homeless people's mutual kinship as a conventional approach to addressing individual and familial well-being.

The supportive characteristic in this context can be considered supportive for family-based homeless services in Taiwan (see 2.3.1). Repeatedly, three local factors shape

employment in homeless services with supportive characteristics. First, when returning homeless people homes is the ultimate aim of homeless services in Taiwan under the legislation (Huang, 2021b). Homeless people are usually pulled into a situation where they must be encouraged to contact their family to return home in co-production with homeless services workers. Second, in the process of contacting and repairing homeless people's kinship, adequate housing services are barely provided for them due to local factors, including overpriced rent prices and insufficient social housing. Hence, homeless people are often encouraged to engage in work primarily within the informal economy to survive, which is why homeless services in Taiwan are employment-led, as mentioned above.

Finally, this punitive homeless service is intertwined with the supportive characteristic that many homeless people tend to continue their kinship with their family as a motive for survival. Based on my findings, this supportive characteristic helps some homeless individuals eventually repair and return to their homes. It is related to the mutual family support that individuals in Taiwan tend to live collectively with their families instead of individually, prioritising family over individual freedom. In short, *poverty management* (DeVerteuil, 2006; DeVerteuil et al., 2009) exists in Taiwan and shaped by local contexts to have some supportive characteristics embedded in the family-based homeless services mentioned above.

Based on my empirical findings below, policies related to homeless services provision based on Confucianism fused with neoliberalism in Taiwan confuse the local state and the voluntary sector for the provision of homeless services, including the Civil Code (2021), the Public Assistance Act, (2015), and the Guideline for Wanderer Accommodation in Taipei City (2014). The confusion of the local state and the voluntary sector about providing homeless services in Taiwan is influenced by the ambivalent homeless services with punitive and supportive characteristics in Taiwan. The ambivalent homeless services involve punishing homeless people, meeting welfare needs from families or through employment, on the one hand, and supporting homeless people to keep their mutual kinship when homeless people want to, on the other. For example, homeless people in Taiwan may refuse to be considered as 'homeless' because they believe that they have a home but are not going back yet. As the key informant (MI11) stated: *''One of my [homeless] care recipients thought the word*

'homeless person' is discriminated. He said if he had no home, where would he be born? Then he said, 'Call me a wandering man instead'. Because he believed he was wandering in public spaces instead of having no family and home''. For another example, old homeless people are possibly giving their savings and possessions to their children and then becoming street homeless as a way of showing their parents love to help their offspring in Taiwan. As the participant (F-WI26) mentioned:

> *I know that in Western societies, children can be independent when they are 18. They are not legally responsible for their parents' well-being, and their financial affairs are independent of their parents as well. However, Taiwan is not the case. Children's financial affairs are fastened with their parents instead of being separated by the laws. I met so many old parents aged over 70, giving their houses to their children and then becoming homeless.*

In addition, the ambivalent homeless services in Taiwan influence the appeals from the voluntary sector in the policy campaign to mainly amend punitive homeless policies and preserve homeless people's families' duty to pay maintenance to their homeless family members, as the findings on this phenomenon will demonstrate below. Moreover, my findings clearly show that agencies in Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector are worried about ending homeless people's and their families' maintenance duties for different reasons. I conceptualise this unique political climate for homeless policies and services by demonstrating my empirical evidence later to describe the *ambivalence, ambiguity, and anxiety* of homeless agencies in Taiwan, shaped by the East Asian spatial dynamics of the fusion of Confucianism (and neoliberalism). The three sections below will examine the relationships between homeless policies, homeless people, and public and voluntary agencies for homeless services in Taiwan to explore the three phenomena: (1) The ambivalence of public and voluntary homeless agencies' attitudes towards homeless services; (2) The ambiguity of amending punitive homeless policies appealed by voluntary homeless agencies; (3) The anxiety of (not) abolishing maintenance law in Taiwan expressed by public and voluntary homeless agencies.

4.2 Ambivalent Attitudes Towards Homeless Services

Based on my empirical findings, public homeless agencies (e.g., public drop-in centres) often provide services to help homeless people return home, such as buying a train ticket or providing transportation by driving. On the other hand, voluntary homeless agencies (e.g., registered non-profit organisations) less often provide this service to homeless people. This phenomenon demonstrates the public and voluntary agencies' ambivalent attitudes toward the partly punitive homeless service in Taiwan, whilst both agencies expressed that the homeless service is problematic. Many local factors in shaping the public and voluntary agencies' ambivalent attitudes. Regarding the public agencies' ambivalent attitudes toward this homeless service, several local factors differ from the voluntary ones. First, public homeless agencies are required by the public bureaucratic system to provide services to help homeless people go back home when over half of the homeless population in Taipei is over age 60 should meet their welfare needs from their families (Shi & Li, 2022; Taipei City Government, 2019). However, public agencies often encounter difficulties when their care recipients' families refuse to let their care recipients go back home. As the public homeless agency's manager (MI14) stated: ''*Most of the time, when I contacted their family members [of homeless care recipients], the family members often said their fathers [as the care recipients] did not contact them for long, so they told me their fathers should never come back and have better die on the street''*. Nevertheless, homeless care recipients may still request that public homeless agencies provide the service to help them return home. Hence, public homeless agencies usually keep providing this service when their care recipients request it, while the agencies often believe it is ineffective. As the manager (MI14) mentioned:

> *If me or my colleagues buy a train ticket to send them [homeless care recipients] back home, you know, they could go back home today and then return to Taipei tomorrow. Well, however, some of our homeless care recipients said they want to go back home to see their daughters chatting or borrowing money, whatever they said. We will help them only if they [homeless care recipients] have expressed that they want to go back home.*

On the other hand, public homeless agencies often use the service of helping homeless people return home as a strategy to reduce their overloaded workload. In Taiwan, homeless support workers in public agencies usually provide their care services to other marginalised groups because of the shortage of workers. As the participant (F-WI30) who worked in a public homeless agency stated: *''My team deal with not only homeless issues but also others such as older people living alone, people with mental disability, and victims of child abuse and domestic violence''*. Hence, public homeless agencies reveal they often have no sufficient time to deal with homeless issues when they need to provide care services to other marginalised groups. Asking homeless people whether they accept the travel grant to return home is a quick way of dealing with homeless issues in the local context. However, public agencies know this method is ineffective in helping homeless people. The empirical findings demonstrate the complex relationships between bureaucracy and public agencies for homeless support in Taiwan, such as street-level bureaucracy. As the participant (F-WI12) who worked in a public homeless agency stated:

> *The truth is that we do not have the time to think about whether this service [of sending homeless people back home] is controversial or not. After work, my colleagues and I knew this service was questionable because we only sent them [homeless people] to other places……However, if homeless people ask me to buy a train ticket to send them to other cities, I will think about my workload stress. Then, I would say 'okay', give them a one-way trip, and say goodbye.*

Alongside, voluntary homeless agencies in Taiwan constitute the provision of homeless services, and helping homeless people return home is problematic after they provide the services and reflect on that. It means the voluntary agencies were influenced by homeless policies in Taiwan to give this partly punitive homeless service. As the key informant (MI5) who worked in a voluntary agency stated: *''Buying a ticket for homeless people help them return home is problematic, whilst they (the public drop-in centres) have no awareness of this context. My experience is that I helped send a homeless person back home, and he came back to Taipei the next day even quicker than I did''*. However, the voluntary agencies may continuously help homeless care recipients return home when the care recipients have a request for it. When some homeless

people request to have the homeless service help them return home, the homeless service is not only punitive but also accommodative because homeless people want to meet their well-being through their families' support. As the key informant (MI16) in a voluntary agency mentioned: ''*One of the care recipients sent a text message through the social media [of the name] saying he needed to go back home because his father had Alzheimer's disease. He said he must return to care for his father, so he felt sorry that he could not stay here [the shelter] to do voluntary work''*.

Voluntary homeless agencies in Taiwan can learn from their experience to adjust their service provision. Moreover, they can also learn about homeless services from Western welfare states to examine the advantages of Western homeless services referring to personalised homeless services, including the Housing First approach to improve homeless people's self-sufficiency for change (DeVerteuil, 2012). This reflection may help the voluntary agencies to refer to the Housing First approach to adjust their approach to providing homeless services. For example, some voluntary homeless agencies in Taiwan know that the US government and communities used the Housing First approach to prioritising long-term accommodative services to help homeless people have a living place to relax and learn how to be self-reliant for having further services. The Housing First approach constitutes a type of neoliberal governance focusing on homeless people being accommodated and becoming self-sufficient instead of having health care or social skill learning services before long-term accommodation (Hennigan, 2017). The empirical findings demonstrate how the voluntary sector in Taiwan examines the Housing First approach and uses this neoliberal idea intending to adjust homeless services in Taiwan to become personalised from collective familial welfare provision. In this situation, the neoliberal idea is the catalyst for the voluntary sector in Taiwan to reflect and change its homeless services provision instead of a pure threat to homelessness and the voluntary sector. As the participant (F-WI32) in a voluntary homeless agency stated:

> *I have heard about homeless services from the US federal strategy of the Opening Doors scheme and the Housing First approach given by the Obama government in 2009. I knew the [US] government worked with communities to prioritise accommodation services for homeless people……the practical way of helping homeless people is that homeless*

> *people themselves need to have the ability to be self-reliant first. Then, they can provide further to move toward social inclusion……Using the Housing First approach in Taiwan is challenging when most urban areas are privatised……The practical way of using the Housing First approach to help homeless people in Taiwan is to work with landlords to offer affordable privately rented housing.*

My empirical findings demonstrate that homeless policies and services in Taiwan are partly punitive and shaped by laws based on Confucian ideas (e.g., the legal duty of paying maintenance to family members; families are responsible for meeting familial well-being instead of the state) fused with neoliberal ideas (e.g., families are responsible for their welfare needs instead of the state; the state encouraging families to meet their needs mainly through market mechanisms). The fusion of Confucianism and neoliberalism happened in East Asia because some Confucian and neoliberal ideas seem similar, such as the Confucian idea of families' welfare responsibility instead of the state being similar to the neoliberal idea of individuals' welfare responsibility. However, the neoliberalisation of welfare provision in Taiwan will never be completed because of the fundamental difference in the core value of Confucianism, which refers to 'collective familial well-being' in market mechanisms. In contrast, the core value of neoliberalism refers to 'individual freedom' in the free market. The findings contribute to *variegated neoliberalism* in East Asia (Brenner et al., 2010). The findings also contribute to urban *resilience* (DeVerteuil, 2015) in East Asia, demonstrating how the voluntary sector uses neoliberal ideas from the West as the 'catalyst' to reflect and adjust their homeless services provision, involving fusing the Confucian idea (e.g., meeting individual welfare needs provided by their families) with the Neoliberal one (e.g., respect individual autonomy to meet welfare needs by improving their self-efficiency). I coin the term 'the fusion of Confucianism (and neoliberalism)' to describe this East Asian phenomenon.

In the following section, the empirical findings will demonstrate how this East Asian phenomenon influences the voluntary sector to conduct the policy campaign, appealing to the state to mainly amend existing homeless policies, involving the reduction of the broad range of family members for paying maintenance and preserving the legal duty of maintenance. This amendment to homeless policies may make the

welfare system less inaccessible, whilst families remain significant players in meeting individual welfare needs.

4.3 Ambiguity of Amending Homeless Policies

The voluntary sector in Taiwan conducted a policy campaign to change the homeless policy (e.g., the Public Assistance Act) to improve homeless services from 2022 (Syuan, 2022). The voluntary sector seems not to employ the idea of the Housing First Approach for policy change to prioritise long-term accommodation homeless services. Instead, the voluntary sector intends to amend the Public Assistance Act to make the welfare system less inaccessible as the primary approach to helping homeless people apply for the homeless grant (e.g., the low-income households grant) to pay their living costs. The voluntary sector in Taiwan claims that Article 5 in the Public Assistance Act related to maintenance payment is problematic, making the homeless grant inaccessible. This is because household income and property assessment for the homeless grant not only include the grant applicants' earnings and possessions but also include their spouses, their children and parents, siblings, and other family members who live in the same registered household, as required by the existing Article 5 (Public Assistance Act, 2015): ''*To calculate the number of members living in the household defined in the first paragraph of Article 4, except for the applicant, please also include the following: 1. Spouse. 2. First-degree lineal blood relatives. 3. Other lineal blood relatives and siblings who live in the same dwelling or who are registered in the same household. 4……*''. Most of the research participants who worked in voluntary homeless agencies in Taiwan claim that Article 5 is problematic under Confucianism and makes the homeless grant inaccessible. As the key informant (MI11) stated:

> *I really think family intersects with Confucian ideas, such as asking parents to raise their children, and then their children will raise them back. This maintenance duty is [absurd] that I assume only one of the twenty families can fulfil the duty……I have met so many homeless people who have experienced domestic violence or child abuse, so they try to survive with some friends around only. They [the homeless people] have no chance to be taken care of by their families like that.*

The voluntary sector in Taiwan requested policymakers to send the amended draft of Article 5 to the Taiwanese parliament (e.g., the Executive Yuan) and wait for the amended law to be implemented. However, the amended draft of Article 5 mainly amends the requirement of household income and property assessment, including fewer family members: *''To calculate the number of members living in the household defined in the first paragraph of Article 4, except for the applicant, please also include the following: 1. Spouse. 2. First-degree lineal blood relatives who live with the applicant in the same registered household. 3. The family members have tax deductions by conducting maintenance ... ''* (Legislative Yuan, 2023). In other words, the voluntary sector intends to preserve the legal duty of paying maintenance to their homeless care recipients and the recipients' families for several reasons. First, the voluntary sector possibly believes the duty of paying maintenance to families is the conventional merit in Taiwan that needs to be preserved, as the key informant (MI4) participating in the campaign stated: *''I must clarify that children have the legal duty to raise their parents; however, the children do not want to raise them. They do not pay their parents for maintenance, which the maintenance legislation requires''*.

Second, the voluntary sector in Taiwan believes that prioritising long-term accommodation for homeless services usually encounters difficulties, as local communities usually refuse homeless people to move into the communities. In this possible scenario, homeless people would live in housing in rural areas arranged by the voluntary sector, whilst homeless people would not be able to conduct paid work for self-reliance. In other words, the Not-In-My-Back-Yard phenomenon in Taiwan is the factor influencing the voluntary sector not to prioritise long-term accommodation homeless services, as the voluntary homeless agency's participant (F-WI32) mentioned: *''It is difficult to help homeless people live in long-term accommodation. Our homeless shelters are forced to be in rural areas because local communities request us to do so, not to mention the [long-term] accommodation! Homeless people cannot do paid work if their workplace is very far from rural areas while they cannot afford the traffic''*. This does not mean the voluntary sector does not help homeless care recipients move into private housing. Instead, the voluntary sector uses the approach to hiding their care recipients' identity as homeless people as the approach to helping them move into private housing when they often introduce their care recipients as their relatives, such as homeless support workers' aunties or uncles. In other words, the

voluntary sector provides long-term accommodation homeless services through this not obvious and official approach, as the voluntary homeless agency's participant (F-WI14) stated: *''Even though our homeless care recipients had a job, they still did not fit the landlords' expectations though……I would say to them [private landlords] that my homeless care recipients are my uncles or aunties coming to here [Taipei] to do work or something''*.

Last, the voluntary sector in Taiwan believes helping homeless people move into private housing is essential, and the most feasible way of achieving this is to make homeless grant applications less inaccessible so that the grant can be used to pay care recipients' rent. However, even though the amendment of homeless policies in Taiwan to reduce the range of family members for paying maintenance to families, the homeless grant application is possibly still inaccessible because the law of household income and property assessment is intertwined with another law that the state can assume homeless applicants have a job in the informal economy when the applicants cannot provide work record. This is another punitive characteristic embedded in homeless policies in Taiwan. In this situation, homeless people usually wait until age 65 as retired older adults to apply for the grant. Nevertheless, the voluntary sector believes it is necessary to amend homeless policies, reducing the range of family members who pay maintenance. This is because adopted children's income would be included in household income and property assessment to make the homeless grant application fail, as the voluntary agency's participant (F-WI23) stated:

> *Many homeless people would like to stay in private rental housing, but they cannot because they have no government grants for that. Some homeless people would wait until age 65 to apply for the [homeless] grant……One of my [homeless] care recipients failed his grant application because his adopted son's income is included in the household income and property assessment. This is absurd!*

The empirical findings demonstrate several reasons why the voluntary sector campaigns for amending homeless policies and preserving the legal duty of paying maintenance given by family members in Taiwan. The findings clearly show the political climate in Taipei, involving the relationships between NIMBYism and homeless services in the local context, contributing to *revanchism* (May & Cloke, 2014; Smith, 1996) in East

Asia. Also, the findings contribute to urban *resilience* (DeVerteuil, 2015), demonstrating the voluntary sector's paradoxical strategy of campaigning to amend homeless policies when the sector intends to improve the provision of homeless services in Taiwan. The following section will further demonstrate findings on the perspectives of the state and the voluntary sector on the legal duty of paying maintenance to family members in the landscape of homelessness in Taiwan. Based on my empirical findings, public homeless agencies worry if they provide homeless services without the maintenance law for several reasons. On the other hand, voluntary homeless agencies have ambivalent attitudes towards the maintenance law, involving their worry that ending the maintenance law may collapse the Taiwan welfare system when an overwhelming number of potentially marginalised groups could have governmental grants if the law is ended. Also, the voluntary homeless agencies' ambivalent attitudes involve the agencies' anxiety that they would persist in providing ineffective homeless services if the maintenance law is not ended.

4.4 Anxiety about Maintenance Laws

The policymaker's key informant (PMI1) stated that ending the maintenance law would not help make the welfare system more accessible for homeless people. The policymaker (PMI1) indicated that the main problem is the ineffective collaboration between the state and the voluntary sector in providing homeless services when the public budget on social welfare has increased more quickly in recent years. Indeed, the policymaker revealed that the austerity social policy does not cause the inaccessibility of the welfare system. As the key informant of the policymaker (PMI1) mentioned:

> *The central government increased the 7 billion [TWD] public budget for the social safety net programme (around 168 million GBP[11]) between 2018 and 2020, including increasing the number of social care providers by around 3,000 [in the voluntary sector and the state]. The 2.0 social safety net programme will keep improving the budget up to 40.7 billion*

[11] The exchange rate is on 20th August 2024.

> *[TWD] (around 978 million GBP[12]) between 2021 to 2025. The central government develops policy this way down the road, but the real question is: How do the front-line care providers carry out more efficient work? Not just how to work efficiently in the local state's bureaucracy and with others [local states] but also collaborate with care providers in all non-profit organisations [for homeless support and beyond]. We [the Taipei government] have a lot of contracts with non-profit organisations for social care provision, and they are helping us sustain the social net programme.*

In Taiwan, many public homeless agencies expressed their worry about the scenario of the maintenance law and legal duty mentioned above being abolished. There are several reasons for their worry. First, the public agencies felt they might be unable to deal with a perceived sharp increase in the number of homeless cases if the law is repealed. This is because public agencies will have a heavier workload if it happens. Indeed, other departments in the local state can shift their homeless-relevant work to public drop-in centres managed by the social welfare department, whilst the duty of homeless services provision is unclear in local states in Taiwan. Hence, there is a perception that (already overloaded) homeless support workers in public drop-in centres would have a heavier workload if the number of their support workers increased. As the participant (F-WI30) mentioned:

> *Each paid care worker in our [public drop-in] centres has around 20 cases, which is a lot. I cannot entirely agree with it [increased public budget on the social safety net programme]. If we had more paid care workers, other departments would say you should do more things, which the [public drop-in] centres do not conduct now due to the labour shortage [as the excuse]. Then, we might have to do more care services as the destructive cycle. It means more people equals more work.*

Second, many public homeless agencies expressed that if the maintenance law is abolished, they would have more workload and more legal responsibility to provide

[12] The exchange rate is on 20th August 2024.

homeless services, including approving homeless grants. This local context involves three factors. The first factor is that Article 5-3-9 in the Public Assistance Act (2015) only gives public homeless agencies the right to provide an exemption from laws to homeless people, helping them receive the homeless grant. In addition, public homeless agencies usually shoulder the legal responsibility for intentional homeless grant claimants, including annually assessing homeless grant claimant qualifications and ending the financial support to intentional homeless grant recipients. Second, some politicians have misused this homeless grant exemption to win political support, allowing intentional homeless grant claimants to use the exemption to have the grant. The intentional homeless grant claimants in this context mean the homeless grant claimants' children have paid maintenance to them regularly, whilst the claimants keep receiving the homeless grant. Third, politicians usually shift the legal responsibility to public drop-in centres, asking them to shoulder the legal responsibility for ending the intentional claimants' grant. Then, intentional homeless grant claimants may physically attack homeless support workers in public homeless agencies when their grant is finished. Hence, this local context makes public homeless agencies feel anxious. Some homeless support workers in the agencies have been burnt with petrol and lighters by the intentional homeless grant claimants. I claim this local context is the clientele politics in the landscape of homelessness in Taiwan. As the public homeless agency's participant (F-WI26) stated:

> *It is challenging to assess applicants' qualifications for the [homeless] grant beyond the blood-degree family relationship as the street-level bureaucrat. Using Article [of 5-3-9] would be problematic to exempt homeless people without maintenance assessment……If they [voluntary organisations and politicians] ask a homeless support worker in the [public] drop-in centre to take all the pressure and results of giving exemption to homeless people for the grant, who would like to be the support worker in the centre? Do you think people would keep being the [public] support workers if [intentional] homeless people attack and burn them [with petrol and a lighter]?*

Regarding voluntary homeless agencies' anxiety about the maintenance law in Taiwan, many voluntary agencies mentioned that the maintenance law is the main factor that

makes their homeless services provision ineffective. For example, many voluntary homeless agencies' participants stated that they spent much time helping homeless people apply for homeless grants, and the applications eventually failed due to the household income assessment under the maintenance law mentioned above. This ineffective homeless grant service provision involves the voluntary homeless agencies' distrust of the public homeless agencies due to public agencies often refusing to provide the homeless grant exemption to their care recipients. As the participant (F-WI23) stated:

> *Only the homeless support workers in public [drop-in] centres can use Article 5-3-9 to exempt homeless people from receiving the [homeless] grant. However, you know, they need to take responsibility for the exemption……Many of the [public] homeless support workers will not exempt homeless people from the [homeless] grant like that.*

In addition, the relationship between the homeless grant and the maintenance law has been further shaped by the Public Assistance Act (2015), making the grant application more inaccessible and making voluntary homeless agencies anxious. For example, the Act requires homeless people to sue their family members for having the exemption of maintenance duty given by a law court. After obtaining the exemption, homeless people can apply for the homeless grant without household income and property assessment, as mentioned above. To help homeless care recipients get the exemption, voluntary homeless agencies must contact their care recipients' families to discuss the details of the lawsuit. However, this contract is stressful for many voluntary homeless agencies. This is because the agencies must encourage their homeless care recipients' family members to cooperate with them as the defendants, accused of not fulfilling the duty of paying maintenance to meet their homeless care recipients' welfare needs. The voluntary homeless agency's participant (F-WI25) stated: *''They [homeless care recipients' family members] are usually upset about the lawsuit. It is because they are asked [by a voluntary homeless agency] to cooperate to prove they did not treat their homeless dads well to help their dads get the maintenance exemption. People often be annoyed by this, you know?''*. Moreover, many voluntary homeless agencies revealed that the lawsuit is time-consuming. Voluntary homeless agencies often spend two to four years on a lawsuit. Many participants in the voluntary homeless agencies

expressed they suffer from it; as the participant (F-WI3) mentioned: *''the lawsuit makes both me and my care recipient suffer……I spent over three years dealing with this case''*.

On the other hand, many voluntary homeless agencies in Taiwan expressed their worry about short-term governmental funding for providing homeless services under the maintenance law. There are several reasons for this. First, many voluntary homeless agencies rely on one- or two-year local governmental funding to provide homeless services. However, the local state often reduces the government funding after the renewal. As the voluntary homeless agency's manager (MI5) stated: *''The governmental funding would never increase but often decrease. Like our agency's governmental funding this year. It has been reduced''*. This local context is associated with the political factor that homeless people usually cannot vote in local government elections because they cannot have address registration in the city where they stay. As another voluntary homeless agency's manager (MI1) mentioned: *''Don't you know that the local government sometimes opposes us providing homeless services? Some local councillors cut the funding for homeless support because homeless people will not vote. They do not even have a house to register their address''*.

However, this concern from voluntary homeless agencies about short-term governmental funding is intertwined with another one: ending the maintenance law would sharply increase the number of governmental funding and grants for homeless people, which could change the characteristic of Taiwan's residual welfare model (e.g., prioritising economic production and growth supported by social welfare provision) and might collapse Taiwan's welfare system. In other words, some voluntary homeless agencies expressed their anxiety that sharply increasing governmental funding and grants for homeless people would collapse Taiwan's welfare system. The voluntary agency's participant (F-WI32) stated: *''It is questionable whether the* residual welfare model's value *in Taiwan can be denied……Taiwan has always used the residual welfare model to develop the country and has not collapsed''*. Alternatively, some voluntary agencies reduced their reliance on governmental funding and increased the amount of non-statutory funding from public donations and fundraising to make their funding of the services more sustainable. The voluntary agencies believe this approach also helps them have more organisational autonomy for homeless services, as the voluntary agency's manager (MI5) mentioned: *''So, our [voluntary homeless] agency adjusts the*

governmental funding proportion to 60%, and the funding of public donations and fundraising is 40%. *In this way, we can have more autonomy in deciding and providing our homeless services''*.

The empirical findings in this section have demonstrated that public and voluntary homeless agencies feel anxious about the complex relationship between maintenance law and the provision of homeless services in Taiwan. The findings contribute to *poverty management* (Baker et al., 2020) in the East Asian context, stating that both punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services in Taiwan are more related to the local factors of maintenance duty and the laws mentioned above. Also, the findings contribute to *resilience* (DeVerteuil, 2015), which is that the voluntary sector adjusts and adopts its strategies for homeless services provision in the East Asian context, involving increasing welfare budgets to encourage and help homeless people meet the welfare needs provided by their families. These findings help challenge the Western view (Power & Skinner, 2019) that the voluntary sector in the Global North adopts its strategies for adjusting homeless services provision mainly in the context involving reducing welfare budgets and austerity social policies to promote and help homeless people meet their welfare needs based on individual autonomy and self-efficiency.

4.5 Conclusion

The voluntary sector has always existed as a space outside the state in time-space dynamics (DeVerteuil, 2015). Existing literature demonstrates that roll-back and roll-out neoliberalism shape the voluntary sector in the Western context (Power & Skinner, 2019). However, Brenner et al. (2010)have shown that neoliberalisation in East Asia is possibly in the developmental model beyond the Western context, whilst there is a lack of empirical evidence to understand how developmental welfare states in East Asia are shaped by neoliberalism. My empirical findings on Taiwan's voluntary sector and homelessness demonstrated some nuances of exploring neoliberalisation in East Asia. I have coined *the fusion of Confucianism (and neoliberalism)* to characterise the time-space dynamics. These dynamics shape the voluntary sector and homelessness under developmentalism involving the Confucian idea (e.g., familial responsibility for meeting family member's welfare needs mainly in the market) coupled with neoliberal one (e.g., individuals meet their welfare needs autonomously through market mechanisms). My

empirical findings contribute to the voluntary sector and homelessness geographies, which are explained below.

Based on the findings, local governance for homeless services in Taiwan develops in the dynamics of the fusion of Confucianism to become Confucian-influenced governance. This governance involves the downloaded of welfare responsibility to individuals and community groups with little government funding, which echoes the neoliberal welfare reform process (Jones & Royles, 2020). However, it also echoes the developmental welfare model that the family always plays the leading role in welfare provision, which is the custom under Confucianism, supported by the state (Lin, 2012). In other words, this Confucian-influenced governance constitutes 'ambivalent', while the decentralised welfare process for community-based welfare services is underpinned by both neoliberal and Confucian discourses above.

The findings above demonstrate that this ambivalent Confucian-influenced governance involves neoliberal-like homeless services with punitive characteristics, including prioritising job training and employment to homeless people with little support for housing services as employment-led homeless services in Taiwan. This is similar to neoliberal homeless services in the West to train homeless people to become self-sufficient (e.g., the Housing-First programme) (Baker & Evans, 2016). Again, Taiwan's homeless services differ from the neoliberal homeless services in the Western context. It is because the homeless services in Taiwan seem to prioritise the practices of mutual familial support underpinned by Confucianism instead of self-sufficiency based on neoliberalism. Eventually, they can meet their housing demand by returning to families of origin, supported by the state and the voluntary sector in Taiwan (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Regarding the Taiwanese characteristics of post-revanchism, the local state in Taipei co-opts with the worthy class to gentrify inner-city areas, mainly for profitable property investment and remove marginalised groups from gentrified areas without providing adequate housing (Jou et al., 2016). However, after advocacy for homeless people conducted by the voluntary sector (Huang, 2021a), the local state tolerates homeless people staying in public spaces (e.g., parks and stations) with regular food and clothing aids, on the one hand, and the local state covers most of the costs of health care

treatments for homeless people, on the other. Based on the findings in Chapter 4, the supportive homeless services provided by the local state also relate to the legal duty of maintenance under Confucian care ethics. Moreover, my findings show that public drop-in centres usually prioritise helping homeless people return to their families of origin to meet their welfare needs; this differs from the neoliberal-like homeless services, referring to the priority of workfare services for self-responsible and self-sufficient (Hennigan, 2017).

Furthermore, the literature in Chapter 2 demonstrates that the Taipei government's budget for homeless services has increased, which is likely related to securing political support for re-election. Meanwhile, Confucian care ethics are moral principles in Taiwan that are supported by individuals. This is another factor to consider when examining the Taiwanese characteristics of post-revanchism, including supportive elements. On the other hand, the findings show that Taiwan's voluntary sector has reflected on the problems of Confucian care ethics for homeless services.

In this context, my the aforementioned findings demonstrate that the neoliberal idea of self-sufficiency is a catalyst, rather than a threat (DeVerteuil, 2015) to local homeless services in Taiwan. This is because the voluntary sector uses this neoliberal idea to navigate the local homeless services influenced by Confucian care ethics. This navigation aims to strike a balance between self-sufficiency and mental health, family support for the welfare needs of homeless individuals. This is another representation of the supportive characteristic embedded in post-revanchism in Taiwan. This also justifies the neoliberalisation of welfare reform as incomplete due to the local factor of Confucian care ethics in Taiwan. This contributes to *variegated neoliberalism* (Brenner et al., 2010) and *urban resilience* (DeVerteuil, 2015).Also, my findings have provided the nuance of exploring revanchism (DeVerteuil et al., 2009; Smith, 1996) in Taiwan. Revanchism in Taiwan involved followingsocial policies (e.g., the Civil Code, the Public Assistance Act) with punitive and supportive characteristics for homeless people shaped by neoliberalism and Confucianism in the developmental state. The Civil Code and the Public Assistance Act in Taiwan blur the boundary between punitive and supportive homeless services. This is because these two legislations underpin the legal duty of family members paying maintenance to meet their families' collective well-being. This legal duty of paying maintenance constitutes the conventional merit in

Taiwan by both the state and the voluntary sector. However, the legal duty of paying maintenance and the relevant laws shape the punitive characteristics of homeless services in Taiwan, requesting families meet their homeless members' welfare needs mainly in the market with little financial support from the state. In this local context, the state makes the homeless grant inaccessible to perpetuate the downloaded welfare responsibility to families. In terms of the voluntary sector in the local context, the sector helps homeless people maintain or repair their kinship asked by homeless people themselves.

Alongside, the empirical findings in this chapter contribute to the idea that neoliberal is a *threat* to the voluntary sector (Cloke et al., 2010), when the neoliberal idea of homeless people's autonomy and self-sufficiency for homeless support is the *catalyst* in Taiwan's landscape of homelessness to fuse with the Confucian concept of collective familial well-being achieved by homeless people and their families by the voluntary sector in Taiwan. In this context, the voluntary sector employs the Western idea of Housing First, as mentioned above, to reflect and plan to change the approach to providing homeless services in Taiwan. These findings also help challenge the Western view of *residual arrangements* in the Welfare states (DeVerteuil, 2015), Taiwan's welfare state is in the Global North, but the residual arrangements are more related to the Confucian merit that individual welfare needs are met by family members collectively instead of the merit from the Keynesian welfare states that the state is responsible for meeting individual welfare needs through collective welfare provision and consumption.

In the following chapter (Chapter 5), I will further explore the local partnership between the local state and the voluntary sector in providing homeless services in Taipei, which is considered one of the global cities. In this local partnership, the voluntary sector has several tensions with the local state in providing homeless services, on the one hand, and the sector's tensions drive it to develop and adopt innovative approaches to changing the provision of its homeless services on the other. Based on my empirical findings in Chapter 5, the voluntary sector usually pulls itself into a precarious situation associated with the sector using neoliberal ideas of personalised homeless care and meeting homeless people's needs through market mechanisms in the local context. The findings help further understand Taiwan's landscape of homelessness, which involves

the voluntary sector's strategies for improving homeless services shaped by Confucianism and neoliberalism.

Chapter 5 Poverty Management in East Asia: Two Service Hubs in Taipei

In Chapter 4, I demonstrated my research findings that Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector provide homeless services in *the fusion of Confucianism (and neoliberalism)* instead of roll-out and roll-back neoliberalism. This chapter focuses on the voluntary sector's everyday practices (e.g., non-profit organisations) to explore how the sector provides homeless services influenced by the local state in the inner-city areas of Taipei. Three main factors shape the voluntary sector's everyday practices in Taipei. The first factor is that the voluntary sector increases its tensions with the state when the state provides partly punitive welfare services to homeless people in Taipei, shaped by Confucianism and neoliberalism. Second, the voluntary sector recognises the problems of the state's punitive homeless services for reflecting and changing the provision of its homeless services. Last, the voluntary sector uses alternative approaches to achieve effective welfare service delivery to meet some homeless people's welfare needs in Taipei.

This chapter employs *service hub* (Dear et al., 1994; DeVerteuil et al., 2022a; Evans et al., 2019) as one of the significant concepts in the framework of the geographies of homelessness to explore the voluntary sector's everyday practices and answer the research question: How are homeless services provided by Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector, and what punitive and supportive characteristics do they exhibit? Service hub can refer to *''conspicuous inner-city clusters of voluntary sector organisations that serve vulnerable urban populations, including people grappling with homelessness, substance abusers and mental illness''*. (DeVerteuil et al., 2022: 1256). However, inner-city clusters of voluntary sector organisations that provide homeless services in Taipei are not conspicuous, whilst there is only one homeless study on the existence of a service hub in Taipei (Sho, 2023). The study (Sho, 2023) barely mentions the characteristics of homeless services to demonstrate how effective welfare services are in Taipei when the fusion of Confucianism shapes Taiwan's landscape of homelessness. Based on my empirical findings, helping homeless people move into privately rented housing may be punitive because there are not enough housing grants

to support them in paying rent. As the key informant in a voluntary organisation for homeless support (MI5) mentioned: *''Many homeless people say it is absurd to rent a place here [in Taipei]. They would rather keep the money for food. This is caused by the large gap between rent and housing grants that make people homeless!''* For another example, assisting homeless people in moving into social housing may be punitive in Taipei because housing grants will be cancelled when marginalised groups move into social housing (Chen et al., 2019). Moreover, homeless people may have mental illness and conduct alcohol-related aggression after moving into social housing. It is associated with the fact that many homeless people stay in public spaces for years to have strong social connections with other homeless people in public spaces and move to social housing units as the punishment for cutting off their social connections with others, as the participant in a public drop-in centre (F-WI30) mentioned: ''*He was not a resident of the (name of) District [in Taipei] until he moved into social housing. He was unfamiliar with the community and had an alcohol addiction. Hence, he became lonelier after moving into the social housing. One time, he got drunk and went to the reception of the social housing, shouting at residents to asking money for more alcohol''*.

My empirical findings below will demonstrate the existence of the two service hubs in the inner-city areas of Taipei (e.g., the Wanhua district and the Zhongzheng district). Also, the findings will demonstrate the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services in Taipei shaped by Confucian ideas (e.g., collective familial well-being and maintenance duty for family members) and neoliberal ideas (e.g., the downloaded welfare responsibility to individuals and families; individuals meeting welfare needs mainly in the market) demonstrated in Chapter 4. The findings will demonstrate how effective welfare services are in meeting homeless people's needs. It will answer the research question mentioned above.

I refer to the original definition of a *service hub* from Dear et al. (1994) to explore Taiwan's landscape of homelessness. Since there is little existing literature on the complex relationships between service hubs and homeless support in Taipei, I must use the original definition (Dear et al., 1994) to justify the existence of service hubs for exploring such complex relationships. The service hub concept refers to the networks involving the interactions between community-based facilities and human service

clients to achieve effective welfare service delivery, which involves the interactions between non-profit organisations and homeless people to achieve effective homeless services (Dear et al., 1994). In this context, problematic human service services involve four factors, including (1) assessing and assigning needy clients to appropriate treatment settings; (2) facilitating the actual and potential social networks of clients; (3) addressing the relationship between the service facility and its host community; (4) and determining the socio-spatial goals of the service delivery system (Dear et al., 1994). On the other hand, the service hub involves a set of relatively small-scale and community-based facilities with close physical proximity, where the proximity helps the facilities provide effective welfare services to marginalised groups (Dear et al., 1994). Based on the service hub concept mentioned above, I define the meaning of a service hub in Taipei as the interactions between the cluster of voluntary homeless agencies (e.g., non-profit organisations for homeless services) and homeless people for effective homeless services to meet homeless people's welfare needs.

I will use the two Taipei case studies below as pivotal tools to demonstrate and justify the existence of the service hub in the inner-city areas of Wanhua and Zhongzheng districts. These case studies are instrumental in drawing on the local context of precarity to demonstrate the precarious homeless services provided by the clusters of voluntary homeless agencies (e.g., non-profit organisations for providing homeless services). In other words, the clusters of voluntary agencies achieve effective welfare service delivery to homeless people in precarity, which involves long work hours, overloaded homeless support, and emotional blackmail from care recipients and recipients' family members. Based on my empirical findings, *precarious homeless support* in voluntary homeless agencies is shaped by several local factors, including the peculiar private rented and social housing in Taiwan for marginalised groups, inaccessible government grants for homeless people, and downloaded welfare responsibility to families influenced by Confucian and neoliberal discourses. This demonstration of precarious homeless support later is the most effective approach to understanding how voluntary homeless agencies persist in giving effective welfare services to homeless people.

Based on my empirical findings, I will use the facts to explore the two service hubs in Taipei. First, I will examine the tensions of voluntary homeless agencies with the local

state in providing homeless services in Taipei to understand the partly punitive characteristics of homeless services provided by the state. Second, I will explore the supportive characteristics of homeless services provided by voluntary homeless agencies after reflecting on the problems of homeless services provided by the state. This exploration of the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services in Taipei is crucial in understanding the characteristics of effective homeless services to meet homeless people's welfare needs in Taiwan. This chapter draws on the interactions between the cluster of voluntary homeless agencies and homeless people in Taipei. The empirical findings will demonstrate that the clusters of voluntary homeless agencies achieve effective local welfare services delivery, involving alternative homeless services such as accommodative private rented and social housing, personalised health, and social care. The findings will clearly explain how the clusters of voluntary homeless agencies pull themselves into a precarious situation to persist in providing effective homeless services, with the threats of burnout and ended services provision in the local context involving little governmental funding, insufficient volunteers or care workers for homeless support, which are shaped by the factor of government grants for homeless people based on the maintenance legislation (see Chapter 4).

5.1 The logic of providing homeless services in Taiwan

Before exploring the two Taipei cases of a service hub for homeless support, it is vital to highlight the contrasting priorities of homeless service provision between Taiwan and the UK. This contrast is necessary to explore further the characteristics of Taiwan's punitive and accommodative homeless services. In the UK, the provision of homeless services usually prioritises temporary and long-term accommodation for homeless people (See Figure 12), helping them initially meet the need to live in accommodation and then providing further homeless services (e.g., health and social care, social skills or job training, then employment) (Richardson & Fellow, 2013). This approach is markedly different from Taiwan's, which prioritises employment services for homeless people or provides employment and temporary accommodation services to help them be self-reliant. As the manager (MI12) stated: *''The priority of homeless services in Taiwan is different from it [that in the UK]. In Taiwan, employment services for homeless*

people are prioritised, or I should say that employment and accommodation services are provided simultaneously''.

Taiwan

Outreach	Health care	Social Care	Employment	Housing
• Immediate health • Food and cloth aid • Drop-in • Emergency housing	• Refurbish clients' health cost • Street-home doctor	• Referrals to emergency/temporary accommodation • Welfare benefit application	• Job seeking • Job training • Job creation • Self-advocacy	• Service of social housing • Service of private renting

The UK

Engagement	Dealing with Barriers	Supported housing	Skills	Supported Employment	Mainstream employment
• Outreach • Drop-in	• Addiction • Emergency housing • Health • Welfare benefits	• Temporary housing • Social housing	• Social skills • Professional certification	• Voluntary work with payment	• Full-time/part-time employment

Figure 14 Priority of providing homelessness services in Taiwan and the UK[13]

This landscape of homelessness in Taiwan is more related to the inaccessible homeless grant (e.g., the low-income households grant) to help homeless people pay for private rented or social housing. When most homeless people in Taiwan have no grant to pay rent for living in accommodation, the state and the voluntary sector often use the judgment of homeless people's employability to help the homeless people who can work or are willing to have job training, which echoes the characteristics of *the deserving homeless people* (Cloke et al., 2010) in Taiwan. I coin the term *employment-led homeless services* to describe this phenomenon. This employment-led homeless service is related to the ethos of homeless services based on the Confucian idea (e.g., families being responsible for homeless members' welfare needs) fused with a neoliberal one (e.g., individuals and families meeting their welfare needs in the market). It is also associated with the severe housing crisis in Taiwan, making the Western idea

[13] The UK pattern is based on the chart (Richardson & Fellow, 2013: 4) while the pattern in Taiwan is original based on my empirical evidence.

of housing-led homeless services challenging. As the participant in a voluntary homeless agency (F-WI2) stated:

> *I had an American friend from Illinois who told me that they would offer a house key to homeless people to stay in because homeless people could be frozen to death there. I mean, it is hard to imagine doing that in Taiwan [giving house keys to homeless people to stay]. The housing price in Taiwan is extremely high and unaffordable!*

Moreover, homeless people may ask public and voluntary homeless agencies to have employment services, which the services may help them have a statement or perhaps an excuse when they go back regularly to see their family members and express that they conduct work for self-reliance instead of being unemployed and homeless. Hence, effective welfare services for homeless people in Taiwan are complicated when homeless services embedded punitive and supportive characteristics due to being shaped by Confucian and neoliberal ideas. The participant (F-WI12) in the public drop-in centre mentioned: *''My homeless care recipients may ask me to do paid work to make some earnings. Indeed, they may go back home to see their family members. In this case, the family members could have asked my care recipients, 'What do you do in Taipei?' Then, they could say, 'I do the cleaning [for a living]' instead of saying, 'I am unemployed and homeless' So, it is meaningful to homeless people to be employed''*. In short, employment-led homeless services in Taiwan are both punitive and supportive to homeless people when homeless people ask for services. Therefore, the exploration of service hubs for meeting homeless people's needs is based on the East Asian context of employment-led instead of the Western one of housing-led (Baker & Evans, 2016b).

In the following section, I will demonstrate the field diary of my reflections on seeing the poverty scene at Bangka Park (艋舺公園) in the Wanhua District and use London as the place for analogy in the reflections. This helps us understand that this park is a significant site for the service hub located in the Wanhua District to provide homeless services.

5.2 Case Study: Service Hub in the Wanhua District

The Wanhua district is in the inner-city areas of Taipei (see Figure 13). The gentrification of the Wanhua district started in the late 1990s, associated with the urban renewal plan (e.g., 軸線翻轉政策) implemented in 1999 (Taipei City Government, 2015). After this, the price of buying and renting increased, associated with the popularity of property investment (Jou et al., 2016a). Since then, The Wanhua district has seen increased evictions and removals of homeless people from public places. For example, in 2011, the local state co-opted with the market to remove homeless people from Bangka Park in the district by asking police and street cleaners to use high-pressure washers (Li, 2016). The local state claimed this prevented the housing price from decreasing in the Wanhua district (Li, 2011). In the same year, the local councillor in Taipei told public institutions, *''I [the councillor] will increase your salary if you [public institutions] sweep up homeless people by using water. They [homeless people] are absolutely terrible!''* (Formosa TV, 2012).

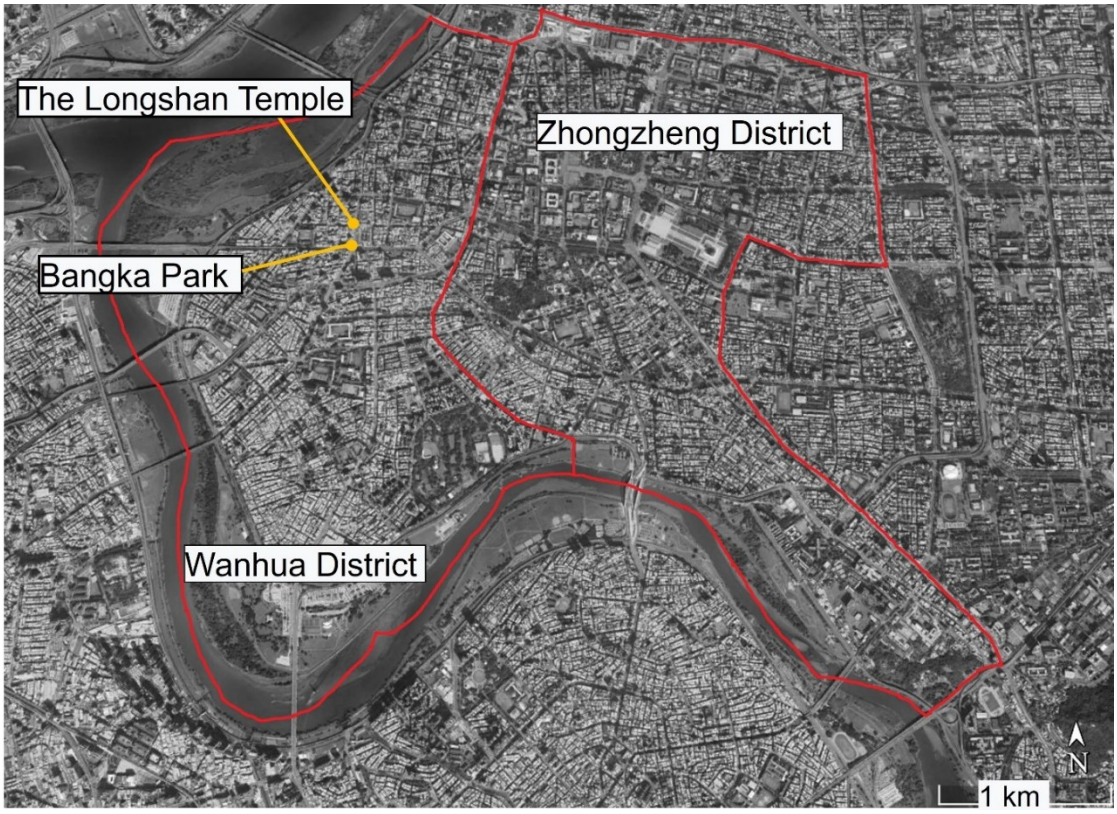

Figure 15 The Wanhua District in Taipei

(by author)

Homeless people in Taipei and other cities go to this Wanhua District, especially in Bangka Park. This homeless mobility to Taipei is related to Taipei's relatively generous homeless services in Taiwan to attract homeless people (Huang, 2019). For example, other districts in Taipei may be more punitive in removing homeless people from public spaces, such as removing chairs at a park so that they do not allow homeless people to stay. As the key informant in a public drop-in centre (MI14) stated: *''We had a case recently that there was a homeless person with mental illness in the Zhongshan District……the authority decided and removed the chairs at the park he stayed because he placed more and more personal belonging at the park. However, he still stayed at the park''*. When I visited Bangka Park in May 2024 at around 10 pm, over a hundred homeless people were overnight in the park, possibly over age 50 (Chan, 2021)(see Figure 14). The annual average temperature in Taipei is 23.1 degrees Celsius (Central Weather Administration, 2021). This phenomenon of many homeless people overnight at the park is associated with the local state's poverty management. The local state tolerates homeless people sleeping at the park in the timeslots from 9 pm to 5 am daily, as requested by many voluntary organisations (Huang, 2021a). This representation of

the local state's tolerance towards homeless people in the park creates an unusual scene in which many old homeless people stay in the park in the daytime. Then, the number of homeless people increases in the park at night due to young homeless people returning from their workplace. Moreover, this unusual scene is interwoven with the commercial scene of one of Taiwan's famous tour attractions, Lung-Shan Temple,[14] near the park (see Figure 2).

Figure 16 Homeless people in Bangka Park

(by Author)

It is also intertwined with the nearby Longshan Temple Metro Station commercial scene, including many shops and restaurants with over fifty thousand passengers daily (Metro Taipei, 2024). I unpleasantly situated myself in this unusual scene. As I wrote in my field diary (on 6th March 2023): *''I felt 'weird' about the location that the homeless ghetto is surrounded by busy shops with tourists and commuters each day.....It is like the imagined group of overwhelming homeless people living in the garden beside St. Paul's Cathedral''*. In short, Bangka Park and Longshan Temple Metro Station are close

[14]The introduction on the website: https://eng.taiwan.net.tw/m1.aspx?sNo=0002090&id=93

by. These two sites exhibit the characteristics of a service hub, with many nearby services offering support (see Table 7).

Table 7 Voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub at the Wanhua District

(by author)

Name	Primary services	Funding sources	Age (to 2024)
1	Food and clothing aids, emergency and temporary housing, and hiring homeless people as volunteers.	Donations.	Over 20 years
2	Buying collected plastic waste from homeless people.	Donations and short-term contracts with firms.	Over 3 years
3	Food and clothing aids, lounge for chatting, job training, employment, and helping private renting.	Donations and short-term contracts with the local state.	Over 3 years
4	Outreach services, emergency and temporary housing, job training, employment, and helping homeless people move into private and social housing.	Donations and short-term contracts with the local state and firms.	Over 10 years
5	Food and clothing aids, job training, and employment.	Donations.	Over 100 years
6	Art therapy, food and clothing aids, job training.	Donations and short-term contracts with the local state.	Over 10 years
7	Outreach services, emergency and temporary housing, job training, employment, and helping homeless people move into private and social housing.	Donations and short-term contracts with the local state and firms.	Over 10 years

5.2.1 Tensions with the Local State for Emergency Accommodation

Bangka Park is the centre of the service hub, surrounded by voluntary organisations providing homeless services. The outreach services are provided to homeless people on the street who do not have access to drop-in centres for help, including assisting homeless people going back home, food and clothing aids, information on homeless shelters, grant applications, job training, and employment. Some voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub conduct outreach services to proactively contact homeless people on the street. In outreach services provision, these voluntary organisations usually give food and clothing aid to homeless people as an incentive to encourage

homeless people to reveal the problems they have encountered. Then, these voluntary organisations will contact the local state to meet homeless people's demands, such as homeless grant applications, emergency accommodation, employment, and move-in private and social housing. However, tension with the local state usually occurs in this partnership for providing further homeless services.

The tension with the local state involves inaccessible homeless grant applications (see Chapter 4) and emergency accommodation (e.g., public homeless shelters). The voluntary organisations perceive the state only to send homeless people to inadequate emergency accommodation, such as insufficient beds and rooms with dirt, as well as placing homeless people with and without mental illness together. As the participant in the service hub (F-WI2) mentioned:

> *The Taiwanese government still initially asked homeless people to stay in public homeless shelters. However, the state asked some homeless people with mental disability like Schizophrenia to live in the shelters with other homeless people without [mental disability]. It is fairly dangerous because the homeless people with mental disability started the fire in the shelter to burn the beds out. Not to mention, the public homeless shelters are overcrowded, dirty, and inadequate to stay. Homeless people who have no mental illness will live with the ones who have. So, it isn't good to live in there [the public shelters].*

On the other hand, many staff in the service hub distrust the local state in providing adequate accommodation in public shelters when there is a curfew in the public shelters. As a participant in the services hub (F-WI6) stated: *''Going to public shelters is not the first choice for homeless people. It is because they [homeless people] say living there is restricted by the curfew''*. Hence, some voluntary organisations in the service hub worked with friendly landlords in the Wanhua district to provide adequate temporary accommodation as an alternative emergency accommodation. The location of emergency accommodation is not their primary consideration, as they are associated with Taiwan's well-established public transport system. Instead, voluntary organisations prioritise adequate rooms at any place in the district provided by friendly landlords. This is related to the scarcity of private housing for homeless people shaped by the stigma. In the service hub, this voluntary organisation collaborates with the rest

to provide alternative emergency accommodation, such as informing homeless care recipients about this information and helping to seek suitable homeless people to stay in.

However, this alternative emergency accommodation provision mainly meets some homeless people's needs for several reasons. Firstly, most of the housing in Taiwan is apartments, and in Taipei, friendly landlords usually rent out high-floor apartments to voluntary organisations for emergency accommodation. Whilst many homeless people are old age over 60, emergency accommodations in high-floor apartments are unfriendly to older homeless people. As a participant in the service hub (F-WI3) mentioned: *''Taking stairs is the most difficult challenge for our older homeless care recipients. However, we were eventually compromised to provide third-floor emergency accommodation by the ten-year contract with the friendly landlord''*. In this context, voluntary homeless agencies often select suitable homeless care recipients to use this alternative emergency accommodation. The voluntary agencies often provide emergency accommodation to homeless people who accept to conduct paid work and learn financial management. In other words, the emergency accommodation is interwoven with employment services as the punitive service to homeless people from the service hub's good intentions. As a participant dealing with the alternative emergency accommodation (F-WI6) stated:

> *I had a female [homeless] care recipient aged over 50. She often emotionally blackmails me, and I remember her one time shouting at me, 'You should appreciate that I come to see you after long hours of work; don't you know I was busy doing paid work every day?'……We expect the female [homeless] care recipients to stay in the [emergency] accommodation to relax, find a job, and save money for eventually paying private rent themselves. This is the approach to helping them become self-reliant.*

Moreover, this alternative emergency accommodation is influenced by residents' opposition, such as NIMBYism, to make voluntary homeless agencies provide such a homeless service in precarity. Residents often use the telephone report system (e.g., Hotline 1999) anytime to request the local state to deal with a problem in the community that might be made by homeless people by residents' assumptions. Then,

the local state usually contracts the voluntary agencies which manage the emergency accommodation to deal with the report for residents. In response, homeless support workers in the voluntary agencies must be 'on call' to enable work whenever needed, day or night, which is the only way to sustain the emergency accommodation service. The voluntary agencies hired more homeless support workers for this accommodation service but needed to be on call when they had more public donations to support this service. Consequently, many homeless support workers in voluntary homeless agencies often have a terrible quality of sleep after being overloaded with work on providing emergency accommodation services. As the participant (F-WI3) mentioned:

> *We had no [homeless] support worker last year for emergency accommodation. I had a work phone for emergencies. Sometimes, I needed to answer the phone around 3 a.m. at midnight. I forced myself to answer the phones by the stress, and then I felt numb about it in the last few years. Many requests from the telephone reports were not able to be dealt with, like [homeless] care recipients fighting with flatmates or shouting after being drunk in an apartment……I turned on the vibrate function of my digital watch for the calls, and sometimes, I woke up by it while sleeping, which was exhausting.*

In summary, the emergency accommodation service serves as an instance of the service hub's tension with the local state in the Wanhua District. This alternative emergency accommodation supports some homeless care recipients moving into private housing. However, local factors shape the accommodation service to become punitive to many homeless people, requiring deserving homeless people to do paid work and try to access high-floor accommodation in an apartment for older homeless people. Meanwhile, voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub provide emergency accommodation services in precarity due to the residents' telephone reports, as the representation of NIMBYism in the local context causes voluntary homeless support workers must be on call to deal with issues that happen anytime. The empirical findings contribute to the service hub's tension with the local state and the hub's capacity to adopt a strategy for change (DeVerteuil, 2023) in Taiwan. Also, the findings challenge the almost purely supportive characteristics of accommodation services provided by voluntary homeless agencies in the Wanhua district (Sho, 2023). In the following

subsection, I will use the private and social housing case in Taipei to further explore the punitive and supportive homeless services in Taiwan's landscape of homelessness.

5.2.2 Tensions with the Local State for Housing Services

Most participants in the voluntary homeless agencies in the Wanhua district distrust the local state to provide affordable private housing to homeless people when the state co-opts with the market to make private housing overpriced. As the key informant in the service hub (MI5) stated: *''The price of private housing is ridiculously high while the state has no control of the housing market, causing the price to sky high. Most homeless people cannot afford the rent like this''* In addition, they also distrust the local state's housing grant provision (as 租屋補助) that the local state requests homeless people must have a household address before applying for the housing grant. This means homeless people must rent a place first to register for the address and then apply for the grant. This is required by Article 4 of the Public Assistance Act (2015): *''The low-income households described in this Act shall qualify under the following conditions: they are approved by their local municipality competent authority via application''* The logic of this law is slightly similar to the idea of 'parish' in the Poor Law Act in England implemented in 1597 to require the parish as the responsible authority for poor people to restrict homeless people's mobility (Humphreys, 1999). However, it is more related to the Confucian governance of the 'Hu-Kou' system (戶口) introduced in Taiwan during the autocratic monarchy (Ching Dynasty as 清朝, 1644-1912) (Shen, 2023; Li, 2023). This Confucian governance refers to the local state cooperating with community leaders to help families fulfil their familial mutual obligations to keep strong familial relationships in local communities for welfare provision (Shen, 2023; Li, 2023) as another (contested) Confucian merit.

Nevertheless, this Confucian governance makes the housing grant inaccessible to homeless people in Taiwan, as a participant (F-WI23) in the service hub mentioned: *''It is challenging to find affordable private housing for homeless people in the scarcity of private rental housing provision before helping my [homeless] care recipients apply for the housing and low-income-family grants''*. In contrast, this tension with the local state in Taiwan seems different from the UK in that the tension between the voluntary sector

and the state tends to be insufficient and insecure grants to homeless people caused by austerity social policy (Homeless Link, 2021).

The tension with the local state in Taipei for providing private housing services to homeless people drives the service hub to adopt the strategy of collaborating with 'friendly private landlords' (友善房東) to rent private housing to homeless people. Some voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub collaborate with non-profit housing agencies in and beyond the district to seek friendly private landlords. The rest of the voluntary agencies in the hub provide referral housing services to meet their homeless care recipients' housing demands. However, for several reasons, only a few homeless people meet their housing demands by having private housing services in the service hub. First, voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub intend to cooperate with private landlords to rent a room to help homeless people, such as registering their household addresses and applying for a housing grant to cover the rent. However, private landlords mainly rent out inadequate rooms to homeless people when the rooms are not acceptable in the rental housing market. As the key informant in the service hub (MI6) mentioned:

> *We knew some landlords in the Wanhua [district] divided a room into three separate compartments as shared rooms and then rented out to low-income families even though the families pay rent on time regularly. So, the landlords provided shared rooms with more awful living quality to homeless people. Homeless support workers may be comprised of letting their care recipients move into shared rooms in the housing scarcity.*

In addition, private landlords may increase their rent once they know homeless people receive the housing grant, which is associated with Taiwan's barely regulated private rental market. In this situation, the housing grant may be insufficient and less helpful for homeless people to move toward self-reliance due to the friendly private landlords giving unreasonable rent to homeless people. As the key informant (F-WI3) in the service hub stated:

> *Sometimes landlords increase the rent, so we argued with them to understand why they were growing it, which is related to housing grants from the thirty-billion-housing-grants governmental scheme of the thirty-*

> *billion-housing-grants. I have met the landlord, who said, 'The [homeless] tenant has 6000 NTD house grants, so I want to raise the rent to 6000 NTD as the maximum. Take it or not!'. Yes, they take advantage of marginalised groups to make money.*

Consequently, the local factors above influence collaborating with private landlords to provide private housing, making the housing service less supportive in Taipei, which may push homeless people from staying in a precarious public place (e.g., the streets) to a precarious living place (e.g., inadequate and overpriced private housing). Some tenants who experience homelessness may become homeless again once they have insecure earnings to pay the rent. As the participant in the service hub (F-WI3) stated: ''*I was worrying about them [her care recipients] during the COVID-19 pandemic … my four care recipients shared the apartment, and they face the difficulty that [they are] not able to pay rent if they remain unemployed while their saving was running out*''.

On the one hand, some people may wait until age over 65 to use private housing services to rent a place when they can apply for a government grant (e.g., low-income-family grant as 低收入補助). Indeed, mainly people aged over 65 are more accessible to have the grant under the requirement in the Public Assistance Act (2015) adults aged between 18 and 64 without a disability must work for self-reliance and cannot apply for the grant until they reach the retirement age of 65. However, even if homeless people are over 65, the maintenance law still requires their government grant application, and they may need to sue their family members for having the maintenance exemption for receiving the grant (see Chapter 4). This possibly worsens older homeless people's precarious situation to sue and end familial mutual obligations for having homeless grants to live in inadequate private housing. As the participant in the service hub (F-WI23) stated: *''Some [homeless] care recipients said they wait until age 65 to do it [rent a place] … I have a care recipient who wants to rent a place and apply for a government grant to cover that [rental]. So, he must sue their family members for the maintenance exemption''*. On the other hand, voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub may pull themselves into a precarious situation when providing private housing services. This is because the voluntary agencies must help fellow homeless care recipients after the recipients stay in private housing. It is to help them become self-reliant and eventually be socially included. However, the care recipients may become homeless

again after voluntary organisations spend time and effort following them. As the participant in the service hub (F-WI23) mentioned:

> *They [her care recipients] could decide to go back to the streets for rough sleeping eventually. Their [care recipients'] conditions are changeable, being good and bad at any time. So, sometimes, I spend much time and effort helping them live in private housing and keep being employed to pay it [the rent]. However, there is no guarantee that they will return to normal life [social included] eventually, but I must follow them. The cost is very high, and I sometimes feel tired about it, you know?*

In summary, the empirical findings have demonstrated the tensions with the local state from the voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub. The findings clearly show the punitive and supportive characteristics of privately rented housing services provided in the service hub; however, they mainly met a few homeless people's demands due to several local factors mentioned above. The findings challenge the almost purely supportive characteristics of private rented housing services for homeless people provided by voluntary homeless agencies in the Wanhua district (Sho, 2023). In the following subsection, I will demonstrate the punitive and supportive social housing services provided by the local state and the voluntary sector in Taipei.

5.2.3 Tensions with the Local State for Social Housing

Most staff in the service hub distrust the local state for providing social housing to homeless people. The participants revealed that social housing is not accessible to homeless people for several reasons. First, only some social housing units (30% of the total units) are available for marginalised groups to apply for housing in the bidding system, such as the competing points the local state gives to move into (Chen et al., 2019). However, homeless people have the lowest points (3 points) in the bidding system. In contrast, older people with loneliness and people with severe physical and mental disability have the highest points (10 points) (The Taipei City Government, 2023). Second, most social housing units (70% of the total units) are provided in the lottery system (Chen et al., 2019). Homeless people must 'win' the housing unit in the lottery system, in which marginalised groups and people not being socially included are available to buy this social housing lottery. In this situation, homeless people cannot

wait to win the social housing lottery to move in, so they usually do not apply for it eventually. As the key informant in the service hub (MI13) stated: *''Most of our [homeless] care recipients did not apply for social housing. Winning the social housing unit [in the lottery system] is difficult, in any case. They have an urgent need to live. So, they cannot wait''.*

In addition, homeless people in Taiwan may give up on moving into social housing after winning it when they realise that they cannot afford social housing. This local context in Taiwan differs from the UK context. In the UK, local states usually cover most of the living costs of social housing to help homeless people move in (Homeless Link, 2021). In contrast, local states in Taiwan usually cancel homeless people's housing grants after they move into social housing. This is because the local states require construction companies to cover a part of the social housing price, which is 20% cheaper than private housing, as the (peculiarity of) alternative housing grant (see Chapter 2). In this situation, social housing is still inaccessible and unaffordable. As a result, this punitive social housing service may cause the consequence that homeless people to drop out of the social housing unit due to the unaffordable rent. Then, they are forced to choose to stay in the inadequate private housing covered by the housing grant mentioned above. As the key informant in the service hub (MI5) mentioned:

> *Some of our [homeless] care recipients drop the price of social housing units after having it. They said they could not afford the housing price and would instead apply for a housing grant for 5,000 NTD [around 120 GBP[15]] to move into the private housing. The tension with the local state involving punitive social housing provisions for homeless people drives the service hub to adopt tactics for housing provision.*

Many staff in the service hub appealed and succeeded in reserving some social housing units for homeless people in the new social housing (Jyu-Guang social housing) nearly constructed. This was the primary tactic to respond to the punitive social housing provided by the local state. In this coming social housing, homeless people are guaranteed to move into it without winning the unit in the lottery bidding system. In

[15] It is based on the exchange rate on 19th Jan (Xe, 2024)

addition, homeless people can keep their housing grant to cover the rent once they move in. However, the staff stated that their social housing service might only meet some homeless people's demands for two reasons. First, the housing grant usually cannot cover the total rent in social housing when the rent is usually slightly less expensive than the rent of privately rented housing, which is associated with the fact that the state in Taiwan uses the Build-Operate-Transfer contract to privatise social housing once constructed (see Chapter 2). As the participant in the service hub (F-WI11) mentioned: *''The rent of social housing is only 20% maximum cheaper than the private rented housing. It means that many of our [homeless] care recipients not only cannot access but also cannot afford the high rent of social housing''*. Second, social housing design is usually unsuitable for homeless people because social housing units in Taiwan are usually designed for young families (e.g., two- or three-bedroom apartments) instead of single people (e.g. studios). In this context, homeless people may have no housing grant and need to pay rent to have an unsuitable housing unit when they move into social housing. As the key informant in the service hub (MI5) mentioned:

> *The apartment design of social housing units is based on the demand for families, so even the smallest housing unit is too large for homeless people, around 11 pings (36 m^2) for a single. The housing units in Jyu Guang social housing have a minimum size of 11 pings (36 m^2) and include a one-bedroom apartment. It makes the rent expensive, so our [homeless] care recipients still need to pay 5,000 NTD [around 120 GBP[16]] after the housing grant covers the rent.*

Moreover, the voluntary homeless agencies face two challenges in making their social housing provision more supportive of homeless people in Taipei. First, older homeless people may have mental illness after experiencing street homelessness for a long time, whilst the homeless agencies prioritise them to help stay in social housing. In this situation, some older homeless care recipients may have impulsive behaviour (e.g., alcohol-related aggression) associated with their mental illness and unfamiliarity with

[16] It is based on the exchange rate on 19th Jan (Xe, 2024)

the community. As the participant in a public drop-in centre (F-WI30) beyond the service hub stated: *''My [homeless] care recipient was unfamiliar with the community and had an alcohol addiction. Hence, he became lonelier after moving into the social housing. One time, he got drunk and went to the reception of the social housing, shouting at residents to asking money for more alcohol''.* Second, social housing applicants in Taiwan must usually provide a police criminal record certificate to prove they have no criminal record. In other words, individuals with prior justice system involvement (e.g., ex-offenders) may not move into social housing in the local context. Whilst homeless people in Taipei may be ex-offenders because criminal organisations manipulate them into committing crimes (Huang, 2019), social housing may not be accessible to homeless people due to this local factor. As the participant in the public drop-in centre beyond the service hub mentioned: *''Most homeless people [in Taipei] have a criminal record on their police criminal record certificate. So, they cannot move into social housing''.*

In summary, the empirical findings have demonstrated the voluntary homeless agencies' tensions with the local state for social housing services to homeless people in the Wanhua district, involving listing homeless people as the lowest priority for bidding on moving into a social housing unit, asking homeless people to win a social housing unit lottery, cancelling the housing grant once homeless people stay in, and not designing suitable apartments. This tension drives many staff in the service hub to adopt the tactic of providing more supportive social housing services to homeless people, whilst the supportive characteristics interwoven with punitive ones shaped by several local factors mentioned above. The empirical findings on the service hub and social housing in Taipei, Taiwan, are original, contributing to exploring the complex landscape of homelessness (Cloke et al., 2010) in the East Asian context. The findings also contribute to the service hub's tension with the local state and the hub's capacity to adopt a strategy for change (DeVerteuil, 2023) in Taiwan. In addition, the findings contribute to the relational geographies of the voluntary sector (Power et al., 2021) to demonstrate how the voluntary sector in Taiwan provides homeless services in precarity.

5.3 Case Study: Service hub in the Zhongzheng District

The Zhongzheng district was another inner-city area (Figure 15) as the city centre of Taipei, including the Parliament (e.g., Executive Yuan), the presidential office building, and the central Taipei terminus on the national railway network (the Taipei Main Station). Several urban renewal projects were undertaken in the district in different periods, such as the Taipei Road Widening Project in 1956, the Taipei Railway Underground Project in 1979, and the Taipei Commercial Areas Editing and Replanning Project in 1995 (Taipei City Government, 2022d). The local state encouraged the private sector to invest in public transport systems and commercial and residential property under the urban projects, causing gentrification and displacement to replace marginalised groups in city places (Jou et al., 2016b). The local state co-opts with the market to sweep up homeless people at Taipei Main Station as it is regarded as a district for tourism. For example, the Taipei government required cleaners to remove homeless people's belongings at the train station before the Taipei Universiade in 2017 (He et al., 2017). Also, the local government prohibited homeless people from lying near the train station in the daytime. On the other hand, the previous Taipei mayor stated publicly that 'Clean up the [homeless] wanders will make them become the [touring] wanders' as '遊民洗乾淨就變遊客', which is associated with developing tourism in Taipei (Huang, 2019; Jhao & Chiu, 2016).

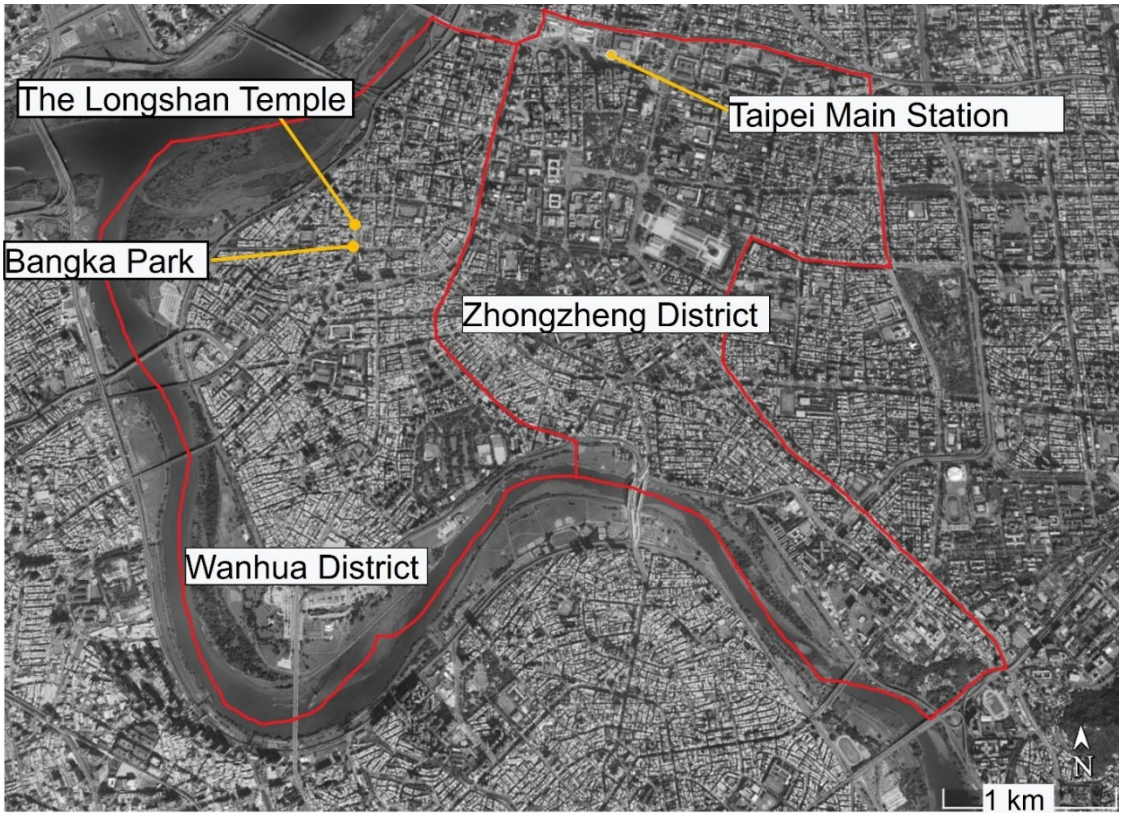

Figure 17 The Zhongzheng District in Taipei

(by author)

However, Taipei City's political climate is not purely punitive toward homeless people. The local state tolerates homeless people staying overnight at the train station daily, one of Taiwan's busiest train stations, with over 55,000 daily passengers (Taiwan Railways, 2023). However, the local state requires homeless people to stay in the train station only at a particular time (from 10 pm to 5 am). Over a hundred homeless people stay overnight at Taipei Main Station (Figure 16). It is associated with homeless mobility in Taiwan when this train station is considered the first place for homeless people from other cities to arrive in Taipei and stay (Mnews, 2022). The local factors above shape the scene at the train station, making it unusual. It has several department stores, a coach station, and many restaurants and hotels around it, whilst homeless people, possibly aged over 50, lie on the streets at night around 10:30 pm, and many pedestrians pass through. As I situated myself in this unexpected scene and recorded the sadness in my field diary (on 3rd May 2023): *''I felt dreadful after seeing this scene when pedestrians and the homeless generally acted like nothing happened at the station. The analogy with London is like an imagined large group of homeless people outside London Waterloo Station staying at night daily''*.

Figure 18 Homeless people at Taipei Main Station

(by author)

Taipei Main Station is the centre of the service hub, surrounded by the voluntary homeless agencies shown in Table 8. The service hub in the Zhongzheng District is smaller than in the Wanhua District, where the two service hubs have strong connections for providing homeless services in the districts. Differently, the service hub in the Zhongzheng District tends to focus more on personalised healthcare because of the tension with the local state regarding health services for homeless people, as demonstrated below.

Table 8 Voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub at the Zhongzheng District

(by author)

Name	Primary services	Funding sources	Age (to 2024)
1	Outreach services, personalised health and social care, emergency housing, job training, and employment.	Donations, short-term contracts with the local state	Over 2 years
2	Health and social care referrals, Job training and employment	Profits from selling products	Over 10 years
3	Personalised social care, shower services.	Short-term contracts with the local state	Over 5 years

5.3.1 Tensions and Contradictions with Personalised Care

Most staff in the service hub expressed that they distrust the local state's ability to provide adequate health services because of the restricted procedures for health care, even though the local state has an enormous tolerance for it. The local state covers all health care costs for homeless people if they follow the restricted procedures for health care. Homeless people must ask homeless support workers in public drop-in centres or registered non-profit organisations to accompany them to hospitals for health care. After this, the support workers must take the paper receipt to public drop-in centres for reimbursement. However, most homeless people in Taipei usually do not ask homeless support workers for help because either they do not have 'clinical insight' (e.g., the individual awareness of his/her illness and asking for treatment) or they are scared to see doctors. Some staff in the service hub are motivated to provide personalised health care to deal with this problem. One participant in the service hub (F-WI27) stated: ''*The reason we do [personalised] health care services is that many homeless people have no 'clinical insight' even though we can reclaim the health care costs. Also, they [homeless people] may be scared to see doctors, so they do not know what to do like that''*.

Some staff in the service hub provide personalised health care to homeless people. The staff provides health care on the street, where homeless support workers accompany medical specialists to facilitate homeless people's expression of their pain and then give them one-to-one medical diagnoses to discover their illnesses. This health care involves supportive characteristics to build trust with homeless people and provide adequate health care to meet homeless people's needs. As the key informant in the

service hub (MI16) mentioned: *''When we provide the health care to homeless people on the street, we believe it does not only give health treatment but building connection and trust with homeless people. The interactions between us [homeless support workers, medical specialists], and [homeless] care recipients are meaningful''*. However, it involves the punitive characteristics that this personalised health care intertwined with employment services and the maintenance duty of asking homeless people or their family members to pay maintenance for their familial well-being. As the key informant (MI16) stated:

> *When I was the front-line homeless support worker in the past, I helped single mothers sell grilled sweet potatoes. Then, I realised that dealing with poverty is just like this. They need to work for earnings to pay for the maintenance, right?*

Alongside this, some staff in the service hub stated they distrust the local state regarding social care services for homeless people assessed and provided in the bureaucratic system. The local state mainly provides services to help homeless people partly, such as counselling and safety planning for domestic violence. However, the local state does not provide further social care services to systematically help homeless people move towards social inclusion, as the participant in the service hub (F-WI14) stated: ''*The [Taipei] government only deal with the case of domestic violence reach the standards of the system [of social care] and not cope with other issues like financial support or referrals to help them systematically''*. The local state's insufficient social care motivates the staff to provide more personalised social care to homeless people. The staff in the service hub rented the place near Taipei Main Station as a voluntary drop-in centre to provide accessible social care to homeless people. The staff welcome homeless people to stay in the drop-in centre to relax, and the staff chats with them to build trust and provide further homeless services. This type of social care differs from the one the local state provides because the staff in the drop-in centre would systematically help homeless people meet their welfare needs until they become socially included. Hence, the personalised social care services provided in the drop-in centre are supportive of meeting homeless people's welfare needs, as the participant in the service hub (F-WI14) stated: *''I can provide services to my [homeless] care recipients to systematically understand their real needs and help them meet them …*

We also provide social and health care referrals and services like applying for social welfare grants or accompanying them to see a doctor in the hospital''.

Some homeless care recipients in the service hub effectively be self-reliant through paid work provided in the service hub. The voluntary drop-in centre provides housing cleaning to their care recipients when most have no homeless grants to survive. This is the punitive characteristic of deserving homeless people in Taiwan, which provides some nuances on the deserving homeless people beyond the Western context (Cloke et al., 2010). The participant in the service hub (F-WI16) mentioned: *''We have the project to hire 13 to 14 homeless people to provide house cleaning services … all of them [the hired house cleaners] have experienced street homelessness and half of them still staying on the streets''*. The personalised social care homeless service given in the voluntary drop-in centre involves supportive and punitive characteristics in the local context. However, some staff in the service expressed feeling powerless to persist in this care service for their homeless care recipients for two reasons. First, homeless care recipients may be emotional and aggressive (e.g., shouting at the staff) in the voluntary drop-in centre when the recipients fail to be social, including after having personalised social care for a long. As the participant in the drop-in centre (F-WI15) mentioned: *''I felt powerless to provide services with my [homeless] care recipients … I know people can be emotional sometimes, and I will talk with my [homeless] care recipients if they shout at me. They usually apologised to me and said they could not control their emotions''*. Second, the staff in the service hub usually conduct previous homeless support (e.g., long hours and overloaded work) and almost burn themselves out, whilst only a few homeless people can be fully socially included by the provision of their services. As the participant in the service hub (F-WI14) stated:

> *My working hours are at least 8 hours, and I constantly work overtime … I usually work at the weekend to deal with something less unhappy … I barely slept well recently and had dark circles under my eyes. When my [homeless] care recipients saw me like this, they bought a little gift to cheer me up.*

In summary, the empirical findings have demonstrated the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services provided by the local state and the voluntary sector in Taipei. The findings clearly show the existence of the service hub in Taipei,

involving the staff's distrust of the local state's homeless services and the alternative health and social care services provided in the service hub. The findings contribute to the complex relationships between voluntary homeless agencies and deserving homeless people (Cloke et al., 2010) in Taiwan. In addition, the findings make contributions to resilience in the global inner-city areas (DeVerteuil, 2015) of Taipei to explore the voluntary sector's motivations and capacities to change homeless services to become more supportive. Furthermore, the findings contribute to the complex relationships between the voluntary sector and care services provision in precarity (Milligan & Wiles, 2010; Power et al., 2021) in Taiwan's welfare state shaped by neoliberal and Confucian ideas.

5.4 Conclusion

I have demonstrated my empirical findings by exploring the voluntary sector's everyday practices in Taipei's global inner-city areas to address the research question: How are homeless services provided by Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector, and what punitive and supportive characteristics do they exhibit? I have demonstrated empirical findings to explore the punitive and supportive homeless services provided by the local state and the voluntary sector in the global inner-city areas of Taipei, such as the Wanhua and Zhongzheng districts. I also justify the existence of two service hubs in Taipei to explore further the motivations of improving homeless services expressed by the staff in the hubs, whilst several local factors shaping the outcome of homeless services provided in the service hub embedded some punitive characteristics. The empirical findings in this chapter underpin the East Asian context of homeless services shaped by the fusion of Confucianism (and neoliberalism) that existed in Taiwan and possibly in the rest of East Asian welfare states. This is different from the Western context of the roll-out of privatisation of welfare services of health and social care, on the one hand, and the roll-back from Keynesian welfare expansion of collective welfare provision and consumption on the other as a roll-out and roll-back neoliberalism (Cloke et al., 2010; DeVerteuil, 2015). I claim that the fusion of Confucianism echoes variegated neoliberalism that welfare services provision is shaped by the East Asian developmental model (Brenner et al., 2010). I have demonstrated how my empirical

findings in this chapter contribute to the geographies of homelessness, and I will demonstrate the contributions repeatedly.

In section 1.1, the empirical findings have demonstrated that the characteristics of homeless services in Taiwan are more related to employment-led services than the Western context of housing-led homeless services. The findings contribute to homeless services provided in the service hub (Cloke et al., 2010)in the East Asian context. They also contribute to the judgments on the deserving homeless people (Baker & Evans, 2016b) in Taiwan. In section 2, the findings demonstrate the punitive and supportive characteristics of temporary accommodation, privately rented housing, and social housing services for homeless people in Taipei. The findings challenge the existing literature on housing services for homeless people provided in the service hub, whilst the housing services embedded both punitive and supportive characteristics in the local context instead of considering services embedded in almost purely supportive characteristics. On the one hand, the findings contribute to examining the staff's tensions in the service hub with the local state (DeVerteuil, 2023) in Taipei. The findings also contribute to the voluntary sector's care services provision in precarity (Power et al., 2021) in Taiwan's welfare state for homeless people. In section 3, the empirical findings demonstrate the punitive and supportive health and social care services provided to homeless people in Taipei. The findings contribute to the complex relationships between voluntary homeless agencies and deserving homeless people in service hub (Cloke et al., 2010) in Taiwan. In addition, the findings contribute to resilience in the global inner-city areas (DeVerteuil, 2015) of Taipei to explore the voluntary sector's motivations and capacities to change homeless services to become more supportive. Lastly, the findings contribute to the complex relationships between the voluntary sector and care services provision in precarity (Milligan & Wiles, 2010; Power et al., 2021)in Taiwan's welfare state is shaped by neoliberal and Confucian ideas.

The following section will demonstrate the importance of filling in the large gap in the voluntary sector's provision of homeless services in precarity in Taiwan when homeless support workers in the sector are motivated by different motivations and hopes to pursue homeless support in Taiwan. In the next chapter, I will explore the relevance of 'hopeful adaptation' (Power et al., 2019) to Taiwan's landscape of homelessness, when

hopeful adaptation is one of the key concepts in the framework of the geographies of homelessness. This concept and the framework help to explore the support workers' motivations and hopes for persisting and pursuing homeless services in the voluntary sector in Taiwan.

Chapter 6 Homeless Support Workers' motivations, rewards, and hope in Taiwan

This chapter will provide clear empirical findings to answer the third research question: How do the relational and spatial dynamics of community-based homeless support in Taiwan shape the variety of homeless service workers' motivations and hope for persevering in supporting homeless people? To answer this question, I draw on the various motivations of homeless support workers within the voluntary sector (e.g., non-profit organisations) in Taiwan to explore how those motivations make them become homeless support workers. Based on my empirical findings later, the motivations of the homeless support workers include the support workers' adversities (e.g., disability, orphan, unemployment, experiencing family conflicts or street homelessness) and the support workers' practices of self-fulfilment (e.g., alleviating poverty or practising social justice). I also draw on the multiple rewards given by Taiwan's welfare state to the homeless support workers to persevere with their work. The finding will demonstrate that the rewards for homeless support workers include increasing public donations to their non-profit organisations and increasing homeless support workers and volunteers to help them continue homeless support. Furthermore, the findings will clearly show that the motivations of the homeless support workers and the rewards underpinning their work are further shaped by the historical factor of civic participation. In this context, the sense of hope from the homeless support workers is expressed as the motivative factor in pursuing homeless support in Taiwan, such as enabling them to carry out civic participation and exercise civil and political rights to the advocacy of homelessness, campaign for changing social policy to improve homeless services.

However, my findings will demonstrate that the voluntary-sector homeless support workers' sense of hope is intertwined with their hopelessness, strongly related to the characteristics of Taiwan's welfare regime in East Asia, shaped not only by neoliberalism (e.g., market-led welfare system and downloaded welfare responsibility to the voluntary sector) (Park et al., 2012), but also by Confucianism (e.g., family always play the vital role of welfare provision instead of the state) (Goodman et al., 1998; White & Goodman, 2006). Repeatedly, there is little evidence of homeless service providers' motivations and hopes in Taiwan. When individual motivations and hopes for persisting in work can relate to their desire to transform society into a utopia

(Anderson, 2006; Milligan & Wiles, 2010), homeless support workers in Taiwan may be motivated to pursue their work of transforming Taiwan into the Confucian utopia of the *Great Unity* (Da-Tong, 大同).

The Great Unity is the blueprint of a utopia, as outlined by Confucius (551-479 BCE) (Confucius, 2014; Liu, 2016). There are two phases to the transformation of a utopia. In the first phase, individuals prioritise fulfilling familial love and welfare to make the society *moderately prosperous* (小康). After this, individuals will share their love with others beyond their family, striving for permanent peace and working to transform society into a great unity. In contrast to the socialist utopia, the Confucian utopia primarily focuses on sustaining the well-being of family members, rather than primarily reducing economic and social inequality to achieve social justice (Harvey, 2000, 2012, 2020). For example, a socialist utopia is a society that prioritises public ownership, property, and natural resources for collective well-being (Dagger & Ball, 2024). Additionally, individuals in this socialist society live in cooperation with one another instead of being isolated. In this context, products produced by individuals are considered as social products, sharing, in which their labour production contributes to the collective well-being of the society (Dagger & Ball, 2024). I coin *the fusion of Confucianism (and neoliberalism)* to describe these East Asian spatial dynamics and constitute the spatial dynamics as the significant factor in influencing the sector's homeless support workers' beliefs, behaviour (see Chapters 4 and 5), and emotions, including their hope coupled with hopelessness. The empirical findings later will demonstrate that the sector's support workers feel hopeless because they persist in long hours and overloaded homeless support without sufficient governmental funding and a shortage of volunteers and homeless support workers as *precarious homeless support* in Taiwan (see Chapter 5).

In addition, the support workers' precarious homeless support is further shaped by Confucian (contested) merit to help homeless people meet their welfare needs through their families' support required by the local maintenance legislation in the local context. Nevertheless, the findings will demonstrate that the support workers' hopelessness is interwoven with the support workers' ability to learn about the other advanced economies' experience of homeless support in West or East Asia to adjust the provision of their homeless services, which echoes *adaptive capacity* (Klein et al., 2003) in Taiwan's landscape of homelessness and care. However, their learning process involves the support workers' positive imaginings of other East Asian and Western advanced economies' to make them feel hopeful. This phenomenon

possibly echoes the *hybridity* concept of post-colonialism, a (Western) modernity left full of contradictions and confusion (Gregory et al., 2009), whilst Taiwan was only colonised by Japan (1895 to 1945). On the other hand, the findings will clearly show that a service hub in Taipei can help homeless support workers ease their workload and anxiety about insufficient funding through networking and balancing their work and life to persevere in their work, which is the significant motivation and hope to stay in the hub. In other words, the service hub can be considered a 'place for recovery' to help the staff feel less stressed and pursue their homeless support. These findings on alternative practices for homeless services in Taiwan contribute to the *resilience of the residuals* (DeVerteuil, 2015; DeVerteuil & Golubchikov, 2016) illustrated in the 2.4.1 section.

6.1 Hopeful adaptation in Taiwan's landscape of homelessness

This research takes a critical social geographies of homelessness framework to examine some of its vital underpinning concepts, including revanchism, the shadow state, poverty management, and service hub (See Chapters 4 and 5). This chapter will use the lens of homeless support workers' lived experiences and (hopeful) adaptive capacities further to explore the East Asian landscape of homelessness in Taiwan. Hence, this chapter employs a *hopeful adaptation* (Power et al., 2019), framed in the Western context, to explore East Asian homeless support workers' adaptive capacities for persevering in their work, involving their motivations, rewards, hope, and hopelessness. The theory of hopeful adaptation refers to the relational atmospheres in places encompassing various hopeful and hopeless feelings to influence or even support marginalised groups to formulate survival strategies to change despite their societal (Power et al., 2019). In addition, the process of hopeful adaptation in resilience is that individuals' hopeful and hopeless feelings are embedded in the residual arrangements to reshape urban poverty (Power et al., 2019). For example, the city of Melbourne has a relational atmosphere that makes homeless people feel hopeless about sleeping on the streets, which is associated with homeless people relying on street vending as the primary approach to survival. However, their hopelessness is intertwined with their hope that pedestrians will give them things and talk to them, which sometimes makes homeless people feel better (Duff, 2017). The theory of hopeful adaptation is understudied in East Asia. To conceptualise hopeful adaptation in East Asia, I will demonstrate the findings on the motivations, rewards, and hopes of homeless support workers within the voluntary sector in

East Asia. This will help frame the theory in other East Asian countries, such as Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and China. On the other hand, the findings will contribute to other significant theories in the framework of the geographies of homelessness, including *messy middle ground* (May & Cloke, 2014), *resilience* (DeVerteuil, 2015), and *variegated neoliberalism* (Brenner et al., 2010). All contributions by demonstrating the empirical findings later will be shown below.

Firstly, the findings will contribute to *hopeful adaptation* (Power et al., 2019) by demonstrating the complex relationships between the voluntary sector's homeless support workers' various motivations and their hopeful and hopeless feelings about Taiwan's welfare state, which the welfare state offers multiple rewards to the support workers. Secondly, the findings will contribute to a *messy middle ground* (May & Cloke, 2014) by clearly showing the complex interactions between the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless service provision and the support workers' secular and religious motivations in Taiwan's landscape of homelessness. Thirdly, the findings will contribute to *resilience* (DeVerteuil, 2015) by demonstrating the voluntary sector's everyday practices influenced by the (contested) Confucian merit (e.g., requiring individuals to meet their welfare needs mainly offered by families as the practice of collective familial well-being) and the neoliberal discourse (e.g., individual welfare needs primarily meet in the market). The findings will also contribute to *resilience* by clearly showing the relationships between the voluntary sector's everyday practices and the residual arrangements in Taiwan's welfare state when the arrangements are more related to the Confucian merit instead of the Keynesian one (e.g., collective welfare provision and consumption conducted by the state). Lastly, the findings will contribute to *variegated neoliberalism* (Brenner et al., 2010) by exploring welfare provision in Taiwan's welfare state, which is shaped by the East Asian spatial dynamics of the fusion of Confucianism (and neoliberalism) instead of the rollout of privatisation of welfare services of health and social care and the rollback from Keynesian welfare expansion of collective welfare provision and consumption (e.g., rollout and rollback neoliberalism).

The following two sections explore a series of vignettes drawing on interviewees' life-course stories. It is to explore the complex relationships between individual motives to become homeless support workers to persevere in providing their homeless services within the voluntary sector in Taiwan. This allows for a close examination of the motivations and rewards which underpin homeless support workers' everyday practices within the context of young Taiwan's democratic regime. The framing of hopeful adaptation is used to explore the complex

relationships between the homeless support workers' motives (e.g., adversities and practices of self-fulfilment), hope, and hopelessness to motivate them to persevere in providing homeless support in precarity.

6.2 Individual Adversity, Precarious Homeless Support, and Hope

The voluntary sector in Taiwan faces various adversities that drive individuals to become homeless support workers. Homeless support workers in the voluntary sector may have a physical disability and experience street homelessness, which can motivate them to become support workers and help homeless people.

6.2.1 The Adversities of Physical Disability, Illness, and an Orphan with Hope

The key informant (MI17) has had a physical disability (poliomyelitis) since born. He experienced street homelessness when he was age around 40 because of in-work poverty and familial conflicts. The turning point in his life to cheer himself up was when he saw the scene of family harmony when a child tried to persuade her mother to buy chicken meat for her father to pair with his beer. He decided to end street homelessness mainly for his child when he felt it was necessary to be self-reliant by doing paid work as a strategy not to make his child worry about him. I claim this is the representation of the aforementioned Confucian merit conducted by a homeless support worker in Taiwan who experienced homelessness in the past. He (MI17) stated: *''After I saw the lovely girl ask her mother to buy chicken for her dad with beers, it made me think of my child. Then, I think my life should not be like this. I decided to keep alive for my kid. This is fundamental''*.

During my fieldwork, this key informant was over 60. He carried out paid work in the informal economy (e.g., street vending) as the homeless support to help him and homeless people with disability be self-reliant through the paid work. This key informant worked in one of the districts in New Taipei City, which may have a service hub for homeless people. The main reason for him to feel hopeless in prioritising the homeless service of street vending is that the local state only provides small and insufficient grants to people with disability (8,000 NTD as 200 GBP[17]

[17] The exchange rate on 27th August 2024 (Xe, 2024)

maximum per month). However, this hopelessness is intertwined with the hope in the voluntary sector that he believes the grant will increase because of more advocacy and policy campaigns conducted by non-profit organisations in Taiwan. As he (MI17) stated:

> *You know, 8000 NTD (about 200 GBP) is insufficient to pay for a shared room for a physical disability. Not even to mention the living costs! …. I believe Taiwan will be better because many people and organisations [in civil society] appeal to the government to increase social welfare grants. This did not happen in the past when I was young.*

Another key informant (MI6) experienced physical illness (e.g., cancer) due to her previous overloaded work in the information technology (IT) industry. This adversity drove her to suspend his work and travel to Europe for holidays. During her holidays, she joined a local tour in London, which was guided by homeless people. After participating in this local tour several times, she was inspired to employ this tour model in Taiwan to help homeless people for advocacy. As she (MI6) stated: *''I went to the UK during that time [of taking holidays], then I first knew the local tour of (the name) … The tour guide once told me I could employ this idea to do the same thing in Taiwan. Then, I thought, it may be a good idea''.* This local tour model was hopeful for this key informant until she realised it was challenging to find a suitable homeless care recipient to prepare this local tour model in Taiwan. The preparation included building trust with homeless support workers and having the presentation training. This preparation pulled her into another precarious situation. She needed to work on IT while volunteering to prepare for this local tour, as she (MI6) mentioned: *''I was too tired and passed out on my bed while using the laptop to prepare the local tour of (the name). After awaking, I restarted doing the work''.* However, she felt optimistic about the homeless sector in Taiwan because the number of donations and volunteers is growing. Moreover, she believed that using this local tour to de-stigmatise homeless people was promising, supported by more positive comments on social media (e.g., Facebook). The empirical findings contribute to the relationships between the digital technology of social media, individuals, and Taiwan's democracy (Tseng et al., 2024), revealing how social media influences homeless support workers' behaviour in Taiwan's voluntary sector. As she (MI6) stated:

> *After working in the [homeless] sector for over ten years, I can see more people pay attention to homeless issues in Taiwan. After this local tour started, more*

positive comments about homeless people emerged. There is a huge change, you know? More people have become volunteers as my partners now.

The other key informant (MI4) is an orphan who grew up in an orphanage managed by a Christian charity in Taipei. He carried out paid work as a cook in a local restaurant. Then, he became a priest in an international charity that provides homeless support. This charity is a drop-in centre in the Datong district in Taipei, but it is beyond the two districts with service hubs for homeless people (see Chapter 5). This charity could be another service hub in Taipei that helps homeless people, but my research does not have enough evidence to justify this. The key informant was sent there as the manager for homeless support. Cooking training for homeless people is one of his main works for homeless support. He helped his homeless care recipients get a cooking certificate for volunteering to cook for other homeless people or becoming an employed cook to be self-reliant. However, he conducts overloaded work on this cook training, other homeless support, and preaching for over 10 hours daily. Also, he (MI4) revealed that he often deals with accusations from residents around the drop-in centre in the local context, in which people in Taiwan may use the telephone report system (Hotline 1999) to report police to evict homeless people. In this context, he expressed that homeless support is tiring, even though he was motivated by God's love to conduct the support, as he (MI4) stated: ''*I cannot say my job is tiring if it is God's will to tell me to do so. However, I would say it is a lie to say this [homeless] support work is not tiring … The residents here reported the local councillors and environmental protection agency many times, saying we are causing troubles in the community, like not keeping the ditch clean or something*''.

However, this key informant still hopes to improve support for homeless people in Taiwan. He said the homeless support would be better if Taiwan used a similar method to Singapore's, which provides more supportive policies for homeless people. He believed Taiwan's government would change the policy for this, even if it would take a long time to achieve it. The empirical findings provide some nuances of neoliberal adaptation of homeless support in Taiwan and maybe in Singapore in East Asia, on the one hand, and the voluntary sector's homeless support workers do not solely look to Western liberal countries for comparisons on the other. In other words, the homeless support workers in Taiwan may think Singapore is a more realistic comparison for legal reform in Taiwan, given that it is more culturally aligned. As he (MI4) mentioned:

> *Taiwan is not like Singapore, which has high welfare budgets to support homeless people … Taiwanese politicians are unaware of the need for more government funding to support homeless people. We need to wait for the Taiwanese government to change and catch up with it [Singapore]. Then, if the change happens, people and society will change their attitudes towards homeless people.*

In summary, the three interviewees' stories have demonstrated how individual adversities (e.g., having a physical disability, illness, or being an orphan) could become the local factors in influencing individuals to become homeless support workers in the voluntary sector. The various hopes embedded in the democratic regime of Taiwan motivate these interviewees to persevere in homeless support, including more advocacies and policy campaigns in the homeless sector, more volunteers and homeless support workers employed the innovative homeless service from the UK, and the aim for improving homeless support set up by other East Asian country's experience. I will use another three interviewees' life-course stories to demonstrate further the relationships between individual adversities and Taiwan's democratic regime.

6.2.2 The Adversities of Dysfunctional Family, Child Abuse, Unemployment with Hope

The key informant (MI3) had a dysfunctional family related to her parent's mental illness (i.e., depression). Her adversity made her feel 'homeless' in her adolescence, and she decided to leave her hometown to study at a university in one of the northern cities of Taipei. Then, she joined the university course on urban poverty to start understanding Taiwan's homelessness. She felt touched by the poverty scene of in-work street homeless people in Taiwan, and she decided to conduct her master's research on homelessness and become a volunteer for providing homeless services. She (MI3) stated: *''I learned it from the course to realise homeless people are working hard, but they cannot afford their rent still … My supervisor [for her master's thesis] and I founded the [not-profit] association … I was a volunteer supporting homeless people while studying''*. After volunteering, she became a full-time homeless support worker in one of the voluntary homeless agencies (non-profit organisations) in the service hub in the Wanhua district (see Chapter 5). She expressed that she was tired of persisting in homeless support, associated with her long-hour work over 12 hours on weekdays and weekends. However, other voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub help her organisation build its website and social media to advocate for homelessness and successfully increase public

donations. As she (MI3) mentioned: ‘’We realised that our [non-profit] association would lack funding on the [homeless] services when our short-term [governmental] project was nearly finished. However, [fortunately], one of the non-profit organisations of (the name) in our network said they could teach us how to conduct fundraising’’.

Moreover, she revealed that the increasing funding from the donations motivated her to recruit more homeless support workers to help ease her work/life balance workload. This provides some nuances of the voluntary sector's precarious welfare services provision (Power et al., 2021) in Taiwan, which involves the local factors of increasing non-statutory funding and volunteers in shaping precarious services provision. As she (MI3) mentioned: ‘*‘Now [in 2023], most of our funding is from public donations of around 2.5 million [TWD] dollars (about 62,500 GBP). After receiving this funding, we recruited more [homeless] support workers’’*. On the other hand, she felt optimistic about improving homeless services and reducing levels of discrimination against homeless people in Taiwan. It is because the network of non-profit organisations for homeless support has emerged, and the network size is expanding when more like-minded individuals and organisations have participated in the network, as she (MI3) stated:

> *I believe homeless support [in Taiwan] will be better, even though it is slow. I know more people join in this network for change. They started 'deconstructing' the structure of homelessness in Taiwan. Moreover, other [types of] marginalised groups joined the network, such as prostitutes and people with mental disability. They may not be poor economically, but they are excluded from society culturally and socially. We are more cooperative [in the network] to face the complexity of urban poverty.*

The participant (F-WI2) had experienced child abuse during high school. After she had therapy for the abuse, she decided to become a psychotherapist to help other people experiencing other forms of abuse. This adversity drove her to become a homeless support worker. As she (F-WI2) stated: *‘’My dad abused me during my high school period. Then I had therapy……. I decided to become a psychotherapist to help people like me’’*. She has continued homeless support for over nine years. She worked in one of the voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub, providing food and clothing aids, social and health care referrals, and low-income grant applications. However, she said the outreach and other homeless services often harm homeless support workers' mental health, including her. She used the analogy of 'the soul grinder' to describe how homeless services felt overloaded. It could cause homeless support

workers to have mental disorders if they keep doing it, as she (F-WI2) mentioned: ‘*‘I feel like overloaded homeless support is like the ‘soul grinder’ to crush [homeless] support workers’ hearts. I saw in person that my previous colleague had a dissociative disorder*[18]*, and he literally stood at the crossroads for a long time after the [traffic] signals turned red. It is horrible!’’*. However, she felt optimistic about homeless support in Taiwan, which can be improved by international collaboration with the East Asian network (e.g., East Asia Inclusive City Network[19]). Her voluntary homeless agency was a member of the East Asian network, and she helped organise an international conference on East Asian urban poverty for academics and homeless support workers in East Asia to share and discuss their experiences of homeless research or homeless support. This international collaboration is the basis of hope for improving homeless support in Taiwan. As she (F-WI2) stated:

> *I am organising the homeless conference for the East Asian network this August [2023], including members from the four regimes: Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. We intend to make cities in these regimes more inclusive. I will bring East Asian scholars and homeless support workers to Taipei to understand homelessness in Taiwan. Then, we will discuss how to alleviate it [homelessness].*

Another key informant (MI16) experienced unemployment as his adversity after the 2008 global financial crisis. He was in work poverty as a waiter in a restaurant and then unemployed due to the economic recession after the financial crisis. He experienced unemployment for months and felt hopeless about having a job. However, this hopelessness drove him to volunteer to conduct homeless support first. He started to be aware of and have empathy with homeless people after volunteering to motivate him to become a homeless support worker. This empirical evidence shows that individual empathy and helping homeless people can motivate a person to become a homeless support worker in Taiwan. Also, the evidence shows that having empathy for and helping homeless people can be the reward to give a homeless support worker a sense of achievement. As he (MI16) stated: ‘*‘I resigned from the job in the restaurant because it [the restaurant] was going to be closed in the harsh time……After two months unemployed, I said to*

[18] The participant mentioned the Mandarin word ‘解離’, which is similar to dissociative disorder, referring to people feeling disconnected from themselves and the world around them (NHS, 2023).

[19] The information on this network: https://uia.org/s/or/en/1122288262

myself, 'This is wrong; do not stay at home anymore and at least be a volunteer through'……After becoming the [homeless] support worker, I knew they [homeless people] need help like having a job for earnings to survive''.

This key informant (MI16) conducted homeless support for over 12 hours daily and has persisted in this role for over 15 years. However, he (MI16) believes that homeless support in Taiwan will be better because the 'democratic literacy' (民主素養) in Taiwan is growing to catch up with Western democracies. However, this statement seems based on his positive imagination of US democracy and the welfare state, whilst homeless issues were severe in the US. He mentioned (MI16): ''*I had an American donor who said that Taiwan is not like the United States, which has had democracy for over 200 years, so how can we compete with the US like that? Taiwanese democratic literacy is small, and it needs time to grow. Inevitably, we need to wait for it to grow''*. However, despite this comparison to US democracy, this key informant (MI16) infused this notion of democracy with Confucian utopian ideals (大同) to motivate him to persevere in homeless service provision to help homeless people repair their kinships. This was articulated as his strategy for transforming homelessness in Taiwan based on a Confucian utopia. As he stated (MI16):

> *I hope and help my [homeless] care recipients live up to the family expected by the Confucian [social hierarchical] system of 'let the ruler be a ruler, the subject be a subject, a father be a father, a son be a son', so they [his care recipients] could have a family with fortune and happiness. In doing so, our society can be better and be in harmony. However, they [homeless people] are not in this ideal situation, and we need to find another way to help them back to the [Confucian] system.*

In summary, the three interviewees' stories have demonstrated the relationships between individual adversities and various hopes embedded in Taiwan's democratic regime. Individual adversities (e.g., an individual with depression or an experience of child abuse or unemployment) can be the local factors that influence individuals to become homeless support workers in the voluntary sector. Many hopes embedded in the democratic regime motivate these interviewees to persevere in homeless support, including mutual homeless support in the network of non-profit organisations in Taipei, international collaborations in the East Asian network of homeless support and advocacy, and the positive images of Western democracies considered as the approach to transforming Taiwan into the Confucian utopia. In

the next section, I will use five life-course stories from my interviewees to explore how individuals persevere in their self-fulfilment by conducting precarious homeless support despite their adversity, supported by their hope for this pursuit.

6.3 Self-Fulfilment, Precarious Homeless Support, and Hope

6.3.1 Alleviating Homelessness and Practising Social Justice with Hope

The key informant (MI1) first contracted with homeless people when he participated in the student social movement in 2014 (i.e., Sunflower Student Movement). This social movement has succeeded in ending a controversial trade pact with China (Rowen, 2015). This success made him realise that civil society in Taiwan has been growing for social change. He (MI1) expressed that he intended to use civic participation to practice social justice as doing 'something meaningful'. He chose to deal with homeless issues because he saw homeless people on the street as visible poverty. In other words, this practice of self-fulfilment is a motivation and a reward for him to conduct homeless support. He (MI1) stated: *''I just want to work for something meaningful. That's it. So, homelessness was [the issue] when I first became aware of it during the* Sunflower Student Movement. *After the movement, I realised I could go deeper to help them [homeless people] more practically as motivation''*. He founded his non-profit organisation to provide homeless services (e.g., outreach, temporary accommodation, job training and employment) with little governmental funding. His non-profit organisation is in the service hub within Wanhua district in Taipei (see Chapter 5). However, he experienced a harsh time having a lack of volunteers and homeless support workers to provide the services. Hence, he conducted overloaded homeless support and felt his overloaded work was harming his health. As he (MI1) mentioned: *''I experienced the harsh time that spending most of my time into the [homeless] support and my body became terrible physically and mentally. I felt like I would die around my age, 40s or 50s if I kept doing this''*.

However, he was optimistic about his homeless services provision because the public donations to his non-profit organisation increased sharply due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The increasing non-statutory funding (e.g., public donations) helped him to recruit more homeless support workers to ease his workload. Also, this optimism is interwoven with another hope: the policy campaigns he participated in sought to amend social policies to improve homeless support when this would happen only after Taiwan transformed into a democracy. This

empirical evidence provides the nuances of care workers' adaptive capacity in the service hub (DeVerteuil, 2015), that the staff in the service hub in Taipei can use the approach to increase funding for homeless services and recruit more homeless support workers. Also, the service hub is the place to enable the staff to recruit others to campaign for changing homeless policies. As he (MI1) stated:

> *Homeless people were the most vulnerable group in the COVID-19 pandemic. Because they became unemployed and the food or clothing aids to them were gone……Not just the [COVID-19] pandemic, our public donations often increased sharply during different disasters……I think our social care system is changing, and I feel lucky that Taiwan has transformed into a democracy.*

After the Sunflower Student Movement in 2014, the positive atmosphere of civil society was powerful, for change was pervasive in Taiwan (Wang, 2017). Some young people were influenced by this atmosphere to become social care workers in the voluntary sector to alleviate urban poverty. The participant (F-WI7) was one of the young people interviewed. The participant said she was born into a well-off family and never experienced poverty. However, she was interested in civic participation to alleviate urban poverty and decided to study social work as her undergraduate subject. After graduation, she became a homeless support worker in a non-profit organisation in the service hub in Wanhua district to advocate for homeless people. She (F-WI7) stated: *''I was inspired by Sunflower Student Movement when I was a high-school student…… I felt interested in social justice when I studied at university…… I decided to work in a non-profit organisation for advocacy [of homelessness] …… I have fellow homeless issues for a long, and I feel confident to conduct [homeless] support and advocacy''*. The positive atmosphere of civil society after the student movement in Taiwan gave her the hope to conduct advocacy for homeless people. However, due to the labour shortage, homeless support workers usually prepare and conduct homelessness advocacy on the one hand and provide homeless services on the other. This type of work overloaded her workload. She persists in overloaded work of over 9 hours daily without a weekend. As she (F-WI7) mentioned: *''It is hard. I need to keep adjusting my work schedule, like 10 hours today, 6 hours tomorrow, but basically over 9 hours daily for the last five years of my work in it [the non-profit organisation]''*.

Nevertheless, she felt optimistic about alleviating homelessness in Taiwan. It is because she believed the public donations to her organisation are increasing, and the stigma against

homelessness is less strong after years of advocacy. Also, she thought the Taipei government was more tolerant of homeless people by giving them more funding to innovate new types of homeless support. This empirical evidence reveals the relationship between individual hope and motivation to persist in homeless support in the service hub. As she (F-WI7) stated:

> *I am optimistic about the general public's attitudes toward homeless people. The stigma against homeless people is less intense now, and the increasing amount of our public donations is indeed due to this! More people become volunteers for our organisation (of the name) so we can provide more services that have never been provided before. Also, I think the Taipei government is more willing to provide more funding for innovating new homeless services.*

Another participant (F-WI10) was also influenced by the positive atmosphere of civil society after the Sunflower Student Movement to start being interested in civic participation to alleviate urban poverty. She (F-WI10) stated: *''After the Sunflower Student Movement, I felt like I needed to do something meaningful beyond my comfort zone in 2014''*. She decided to conduct art therapy as her expertise to provide health services to marginalised groups, whilst she did not prioritise providing services to homeless people. She became a volunteer in one of the non-profit organisations in the service hub in the Wanhua district because the organisation is located in the inner-city area of her hometown in Taipei. After a year of volunteering, she became a full-time homeless support worker in the same organisation. Her art therapy is interwoven with other homeless services, such as health and social care referrals and temporary housing services. Moreover, she helps her care recipient demonstrate their artwork from art therapy (e.g., paintings) in the regular exhibition as an approach to advocating for homelessness. However, her various types of work overloaded her workload. As she (F-WI10) mentioned: *''My work/life was balanced until this April [in 2023].....My colleague and I would have around 13 to 18 sessions of painting therapy for our [homeless] care recipients..... Then, I would start arranging our art exhibition for demonstrating these paintings in November..... Yes, we also work with another homeless [non-profit] organisation to help our [homeless] care recipients for temporary accommodation''*.

However, this participant (F-WI10) pursued homeless support when she felt optimistic about alleviating homelessness in Taiwan. It is because many of her homeless care recipients received homeless services from other staff in the service hub through networking. In other words, she cooperated with other staff in the hub to share information and even some workload

with her care recipients in the cooperation. This cooperation in the hub's network motivated her and became a reward for her continuing homeless services by collaborating with other staff. She stated that his network would be expanded due to more public donations on homelessness to the non-profit organisation she worked for, which made her feel rewarded and hopeful. As she (F-WI10) stated:

> *I and other [homeless] support workers have an online group [on social media] for sharing any information on my [homeless] male care recipient of (the name]……Our [non-profit] association has sufficient funding from the public donation monthly to keep our association going…… I felt optimistic about improving homelessness [in Taiwan] through. Because we successfully appealed, the government took some advice from our non-profit organisations to change how to provide [homeless] services.*

In summary, the three interviewees' stories have demonstrated that individuals' self-fulfilment can be shaped by the positive atmosphere in society due to the success of a social movement as the local factor influencing individuals to become homeless support workers in the voluntary sector and then developing a service hub in Taipei. Hope is embedded in Taiwan's democratic regime, and the interviewees believe, on the one hand, more individuals would become volunteers or support workers in non-profit organisations for providing homeless services and, on the other, more public donations would be given to non-profit organisations to help the homeless support. Moreover, the expansion of the homeless support network in Taipei made the interviewees feel optimistic about pursuing homeless service provision.

6.3.2 Autonomous Care Work and Homelessness Advocacy with Hope

Below, I will use the life-course stories of two other interviewees to demonstrate the relationships between individuals' self-fulfilment and Taiwan's young democratic regime. I will explore how social innovation and international human rights advocacy can encourage homeless support workers to persevere in providing homeless services and advocating for delivering services in Taiwan's voluntary sector.

The key informant (MI5) was the social worker in the hospital, mainly for providing health and social care referral services to people with physical and mental illnesses. She had a negative impression of homeless people and used the English word 'troublemakers' to describe them in

hospitals, such as shouting and conducting alcohol-related aggression. After she felt bored with her work in a hospital, she chose to study for a master's degree in social work. During her internship for the degree, her intern supervisor was a senior homeless support worker who helped her develop homeless support skills. After this, she realised that conducting homeless support is autonomous compared with her previous experience in conducting social work in hospitals. She said it is because the homeless sector in Taiwan was undeveloped in the early 2000s, which is associated with the late de-institutionalised homeless services in the mid-1990s (see Chapter 2). Autonomous homeless support in the undeveloped homeless sector in Taiwan was her primary motivation for becoming a homeless support worker in the voluntary sector. Then, the autonomous homeless support became the reward to keep her staying in the sector. She (MI5) stated: *''I was surprised that the homeless sector [in Taiwan] is undeveloped. You know, like a hundred ruins waiting to be rebuilt (百廢待興) ... Providing care services without limitation was very attractive to me ... I quit my work in the hospital because it was bureaucratic ... Then, I applied for a job in homeless support, and I got it eventually''*. She has continued her homeless support for over 15 years. During my fieldwork, she worked in one of the voluntary homeless agencies in the service hub within the Wanhua district in Taipei.

However, the reward of autonomous homeless support made her pull herself into a precarious situation of conducting over 10 hours of work daily, including administrative work, outreach services, and policy campaigning for amending social policies. She mentioned that this overloaded work made her tired, which is her hopelessness. On the other hand, her overloaded work and hopelessness were further shaped by the anxiety that she stated she worried about changing her job again because she believed homeless support was her only expertise. In other words, the rewarding hope of her autonomous work is intertwined with her hopelessness of lacking other expertise to leave the homeless sector, which happened in the service hub in Taipei. As she (MI5) mentioned: *''I usually stay late from 8 to 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. You know, my work is too much ... I am confident in changing my present job because my only expertise is it [homeless support]. I am not confident working in the service industry or something else''*. Nevertheless, the key informant (MI5) pursued homeless support when she felt optimistic about alleviating homelessness in Taiwan as another hope for her. She mentioned that she believes more young volunteers and homeless support workers enter the homeless sector. In addition, these young volunteers and support workers would use innovative approaches to advocate for de-stigmatising homeless people, such as crowdfunding and making YouTube

videos. This empirical evidence provides the nuances of digital geographies (Bonner-Thompson & McDowell, 2021) that crowdfunding and social media can constitute hopeful platforms for care workers in the voluntary sector in Taiwan's welfare state to help homeless people, which barely has an austerity policy on social welfare. As she (MI5) stated:

> *Homeless support [in Taiwan] is getting better despite being slow. I am optimistic about it … Some non-profit organisations use innovative ways of advocating homelessness, such as making videos or crowdfunding … More YouTubers make videos about homelessness, even though some might be controversial. It did not happen 10 or 20 years ago. More discussions mean more help in conducting policy campaigns to amend social policies.*

Alongside this, the popularity of homelessness advocacy, campaigning for changing homeless policies, and following the human rights requested by the United Nations (the UN) can be combined as the hope for the staff in the service hub in Taipei for pursuing homeless support, explained below. The participant (F-WI32) was an activist for advocating for poor youth and then became an activist in campaigning for changing social policies and improving homeless services in the service hub in the Wanhua district. However, he needed to carry out the campaign while providing homeless services (e.g., food and clothing aids, health and shower services) due to the labour shortage in the non-profit organisation where he worked. This situation reveals the intersection of a worker's hope and precarious homeless support in Taiwan. He (F-WI32) stated: *''I prepared a policy campaign while providing services for homeless people into the public shower place''*. He pursued this policy campaign in early 2022 to increase government funding for homeless support, on the one hand, and improve the welfare system to be more accessible for homeless people, on the other. He stated that more non-profit organisations and policymakers participating in this policy campaign supported his pursuit, which is his hope for pursuing homeless support. Also, he mentioned that Taiwan could fulfil the human rights standards of homeless people for homeless service provision required by the UN, whilst Taiwan has not been a member of the UN left it since 1971 associated with the tension with China (Chytopoulou, 2023). As he (F-WI32) mentioned:

> *More people participate in this campaign to amend social policies … The central government intends not to shoulder the reasonability of the [homeless] support*

> *when the ICCP[20] and ICESCR committees … The central government never shouldered the homeless support in our history [in Taiwan], and it intends to avoid this responsibility … The welfare budget for homeless services from the central government will soar if our policy campaign succeeds. More and more people will come to the homeless sector to help homeless people like this!*

In summary, the two interviewees' stories have demonstrated that homeless support workers in the service hub in Taipei conduct precarious homeless support to their hopelessness. However, their hopelessness is intertwined with the rewarding motivation and hope of autonomous homeless support or the popularity of homeless advocacy to pursue homeless support in Taiwan's democratic regime.

6.4 Conclusion

I have demonstrated the empirical findings to show clearly that the voluntary sector within cities in Taiwan adapted its approach to providing care services in the institutional resilience of the organisations, on the one hand, and the personal resilience of precarious homeless support, on the other. Institutional and personal resilience in Taiwan involves the residual arrangements involving the everyday experiences of the voluntary sector's homeless support workers, which are mainly influenced by the Confucian merit of the duty of giving maintenance to family members for collective familial well-being instead of the (Western) Keynesian merit of collective welfare provision and consumption conducted by the state. The empirical findings challenge *resilience* (DeVerteuil, 2015), which has mainly been developed and understood in the Western context. Also, the findings contribute to resilience by demonstrating homeless support workers' everyday experiences in Taiwan, including their beliefs, behaviours, and emotions.

[20] According to Taiwan's National Human Rights Commission (2024), ICCPR and ICESCR committees are 'The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) are known as the Two Covenants. They are based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and are the two most binding and core human rights conventions in the world. Taiwan respects the significance of the Two Covenants and takes an act to implement the two Covenants precedent over other domestic laws.

On the other hand, the empirical findings on the homeless support workers' everyday experiences in Taiwan help frame the framework of hopeful adaptation (Power et al., 2019) in East Asia for several contributions. First, the findings demonstrate the various motivations of homeless support workers, including the interplay of several individual adversities and different rewards for conducting homeless support. In addition, the findings clearly show the different interplays of the support workers' hope and hopelessness in Taiwan. Also, the findings demonstrate the complex relationships between the support workers' motivations, their hope coupled with hopelessness, and their approaches to persevering in homeless support in Taiwan to answer the research question mentioned above: How do the relational and spatial dynamics of community-based homeless support in Taiwan shape the variety of homeless service workers' motivations and hope for persevering in supporting homeless people? Hope in resilience is often non-linear, but it is also ambivalent and seemingly incongruous in how it can manifest (Power et al., 2019). In Taiwan's context, hopeful adaptation is shaped by the East Asian spatial dynamics of the fusion of Confucianism, which involves the homeless support workers' hope coupled with their hopelessness based on Western democratic ideals mixed with Confucian aspirations, as demonstrated above.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated the three research questions, mentioned in the introduction chapter, for exploring the landscape of homelessness in Taiwan. The thesis has demonstrated how I conducted 55 semi-structured interviews with key informants (e.g., 20 managers, a policymaker) and participants (e.g., 34 workers) in the homeless sector, complemented by participant observation in Taipei for three months (29th February to 29th May 2023). In addition, the thesis clearly shows how the empirical data has been rigorously analysed deductively and inductively to produce the empirical findings.

The thesis has demonstrated how I used a critical social geographies of homelessness framework to examine the relevance of Taiwan's landscape of homelessness and the framework's vital underpinning concepts, including *revanchism* (Hennigan & Speer, 2019; Smith, 1996), *the shadow state* (Jones & Royles, 2020; Wolch, 1990), *poverty management* (Baker et al., 2020; DeVerteuil, 2003), and *service hub* (Dear et al., 1994; Evans et al., 2019). The thesis has also used the theoretical lens of *hopeful adaptation* (Power et al., 2019) to explore the lived experiences and (hopeful) adaptive capacities of care workers in the landscape as the approach to framing the theory. The social geographies of the homelessness framework and the theoretical lens of hopeful adaptation have effectively examined the complex relationships between homeless policies, homeless services, and the interactions between public and voluntary homeless agencies and homeless people in Taiwan's context to provide valuable findings and contribute to social geographies of homelessness.

This thesis has explored the landscape of homelessness in Taiwan and provided empirical findings demonstrating that the landscape is shaped by the continuation of developmentalism instead of roll-out and roll-back neoliberalism. The findings clearly show a complex blend comprising the continuation of developmentalism evolving alongside the Confucian ideals (e.g., families are responsible for collectively meeting family members' welfare needs, supported by the state), coupled with a local form of neoliberalism (e.g., where families rather than individuals are responsible for satisfying welfare needs in the market). This blend, in turn, shapes the interplay between the voluntary sector and the state in Taiwan's landscape of homelessness.

The voluntary sector has always existed as a space outside the state in Taiwan to assist marginalised groups in alleviating poverty caused by social and economic inequalities. However, the state employs neoliberal discourses to shift welfare responsibility to families and

the voluntary sector, encouraging the latter to collaborate with it but, in reality, to provide community-based care services without giving practical financial support. This builds on the idea of a parasitic relationship explored in DeVerteuil, Power and Trudeau (2020) to characterise the type of relationship between the state and the voluntary sector for welfare services provision within the landscapes of homelessness in Taiwan. However, this parasitic relationship is shaped by local contexts that differ from those in the Global North. This conclusion teases out the local factors that shape the interplay between the voluntary sector and the state regarding welfare provision for homeless people.

Based on the empirical findings in this research, the voluntary sector in Taiwan is encouraged by the state to shoulder welfare responsibility for providing homeless services, strongly associated with the Confucian idea of helping homeless people repair their kinship to meet welfare needs mainly provided by their families. The state offers some support for homeless people to meet these needs. However, this Confucian idea fuses with the neoliberal one in Taiwan's developmental welfare state, which encourages families to meet each member's welfare needs mainly through market mechanisms instead of encouraging families to appeal to the state to shoulder the responsibility. Throughout, I have employed the term *of the fusion of Confucianism (and neoliberalism)* to describe this East Asian phenomenon. On the other hand, Taiwan's developmental welfare state influences the voluntary sector to help their homeless care recipients repair their kinship to meet welfare demands, whilst many of their care recipients were either the victims or perpetrators of domestic violence or child abuse. The developmental welfare state also influences the voluntary sector to provide employment-led services to assist their care recipients in surviving through employment when they cannot meet their families' welfare needs, despite knowing that housing remains unaffordable to most.

However, this research's empirical findings demonstrate that those working in the voluntary sector in Taiwan have been aware of the problems of providing homeless services to help homeless care recipients, either by repairing their kinship for welfare needs or by prioritising job training or employment services to the care recipients for self-reliance quickly. Then, the voluntary sector negotiates with the state to try to make homeless policies and services more supportive. This involves not only campaigning for changing social policy and creating an accessible welfare system for homeless people but also intending to provide supportive homeless services. Nevertheless, those within the voluntary sector are also influenced by Taiwan's developmental welfare state for such negotiations, eventually making the voluntary sector only amend some social policies and make the welfare system less inaccessible to homeless people, rather than more transformational change. Based on empirical findings,

many within the voluntary sector intend to preserve the Confucian idea of familial welfare responsibility for collective family well-being. Nevertheless, the findings demonstrate that the voluntary sector can adjust its strategies to negotiate further with the state for more affordable homeless services. Moreover, the voluntary sector has referred to other Western and East Asian welfare states' experiences for this adjustment of the sector's strategies and negotiation with the state, supported by the increased welfare budgets, volunteers, and homeless support workers in the landscape of homelessness in Taiwan, based on this research's empirical findings.

7.1 Research Themes and Contributions

The landscapes of homelessness in East Asia are complicated in each East Asian welfare state. This research has provided empirical findings on Taiwan's experience to guide readers in exploring East Asia's complex landscape of homelessness. The following sections will explain how I guide readers to understand how the spatial dynamics of homelessness in Taiwan interact with macro-, meso-, and micro-level factors. The empirical findings are demonstrated in the three research themes, including social policies and the inaccessible welfare system in Taiwan, poverty management and service hub, and individual motivations, rewards, and hope.

7.1.1 Social Policies and the Inaccessible Welfare System in Taiwan

The first research question guiding this thesis asked how the blend of neoliberalism and Confucianism in Taiwan shapes the complex relations between social policies and homeless services for homeless people to understand the geographies of homelessness in East Asia. The empirical findings in Chapter 4 have demonstrated that the landscape of homelessness in Taiwan is shaped by developmentalism involving the Confucian and neoliberal ideas mentioned above. Hence, the interplay between the voluntary sector and the state in providing homeless services does not closely match the Western context. The empirical findings have clearly shown that austerity social policy barely exists in Taiwan to shape the relationships between the voluntary sector and the state and the political climate for social control of homeless people. Instead, increased welfare budgets, albeit intersected by an inaccessible welfare system to marginalised groups under developmentalism in Taiwan, are critical factors in shaping the relationships and the political climate.

Based on my findings, I claim that Confucian care ethics shape homeless services to become more supportive in Taiwan. The state and the voluntary sector prioritise family-based homeless

services, such as helping homeless people contact their family members. The state and the voluntary sector sometimes even help homeless people reconnect with their family members to meet their needs through mutual family support. In addition, the findings demonstrate that Confucian care ethics do not just drive the Taiwan state and the voluntary sector as moral principles, but also the legislation (Public Assistance Act, 2015) requires them to provide the family-based homeless services mentioned above. These family-based homeless services may help homeless people meet their welfare needs financially and emotionally as a supportive characteristic.

However, Confucian care ethics can strengthen neoliberal governance to punish homeless people by asking them to be self-sufficient with little government funding. This is because the state assigns welfare responsibility to families as a custom and an excuse for individuals to meet the needs of a Confucian society. However, the existing literature is limited in its examination of how alternative care ethics influence homeless services in Taiwan under neoliberal and Confucian discourses. Also, there is a lack of evidence to understand whether the homeless services are more punitive or supportive to homeless people when neoliberalism, coupled with Confucianism, influences the provision of homeless services.

Based on the research findings, I have demonstrated the Taiwanese characteristics of homeless services to provide a contextual understanding of homeless services shaped by Confucian and neoliberal discourses, which blend supportive and punitive elements. It involves Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector's ambivalent attitudes towards homeless policies and services, based on a fusion of Confucian care ethics and neoliberalism; for example, the variety of perspectives within the state and the voluntary sector on mutual family support for well-being, as well as their anxiety to end family-based homeless services.

Furthermore, based on the findings, I suggest that homeless services in Taiwan may be more supportive. Homeless services in Taiwan are shaped by Confucian care ethics, which emphasises the moral principle of collective familial well-being, a value actively promoted by the state and the voluntary sector. For example, supportive homeless services help homeless people rebuild their kinship through co-production, enabling them to return to their families of origin for welfare support. In Chapter 4, the empirical findings demonstrate that the welfare system is inaccessible for homeless people in Taiwan due to the characteristics of its welfare state, which involves the *maintenance* legislation in Taiwan's Civil Code (2021). Instead of a financial arrangement for the child and spouse as maintenance, maintenance in Taiwan is a financial arrangement for a wide range of family members, including spouses, children and parents, siblings, and others, with the expectation that they live in the same registered

household. The empirical findings have clearly shown that maintenance legislation is a significant factor in fusing the Confucian idea (e.g., collective familial well-being) with the neoliberal one (e.g., individual welfare needs mainly met in the market). The empirical findings also demonstrate that the maintenance legislation is a partly punitive policy for homeless people in that it asks them to meet their welfare needs through families. This disregards occasions that participants shared when domestic violence and child abuse within the family are the reasons people leave home and become homeless.

On the other hand, the empirical findings in Chapter 4 demonstrate that maintenance legislation in Taiwan influences the everyday practices of the state and the voluntary sector in helping homeless people apply for the homeless grant. The state and the sector believe the maintenance legislation is problematic in making the welfare system inaccessible, on the one hand, and they also express that the maintenance legislation is the conventional merit of Confucian care ethics, which needs to be preserved on the other. These *ambivalent* attitudes towards the maintenance legislation are the local factor in holding the state and the voluntary sector in the awkward position to help homeless people apply for homeless grants in the inaccessible welfare system. The findings have shown that repairing homeless care recipients' kinship is a significant homeless service the state and the voluntary sector provides. It is associated with further homeless services provision, such as helping the care recipients go back home or negotiating with family members to offer their income records to help the care recipients apply for the homeless grant.

The empirical findings in Chapter 4 contribute to the geographies of homelessness by demonstrating the interplay between the voluntary sector and the state for homeless support shaped by social policies and the welfare system in Taiwan. First, the empirical findings contribute to the literature on the shadow state (Jones & Royles, 2020; Wolch, 1990). The findings show that the local partnership between the state and the voluntary sector for providing homeless services. Which is shaped by maintenance legislation involving the Confucian idea of collective familial well-being as the conventional merit, coupled with the neoliberal one of individual welfare, met mainly through the market. Second, the empirical findings provide nuances to the literature on revanchism (Hennigan & Speer, 2019; Smith, 1996) that neoliberal policies, such as removing homeless people from the streets and requiring them to meet welfare needs mainly through the market, are intertwined with the maintenance legislation in Taiwan to require homeless people's family members to provide financial support to homeless people. This phenomenon in Taiwan is a local factor in shaping the partnership between the state and the voluntary sector for providing homeless services, which has become complicated.

The complicated landscape of homelessness in Taiwan includes the state and the sector's ambivalent attitudes towards the inaccessible welfare system, the voluntary sector's ambiguous campaign of amending social policies but preserving the duty of the maintenance, and the state and the voluntary sector's anxiety of either ending or continuing the duty of maintenance in the local context.

Finally, the empirical findings contribute to the literature on resilience (DeVerteuil, 2015). In Taiwan, the neoliberal idea of individual freedom and welfare responsibility in a small family is not just a threat to the voluntary sector's provision of homeless services. The neoliberal idea is also a catalyst for the voluntary sector to reflect on the potential problem of a wide range of family members paying maintenance to homeless people in post-industrialised society. The voluntary sector employs the Western idea of individual freedom as the principle of human rights to campaign for the state to allow a smaller range of family members to pay maintenance to marginalised groups and assess familial household income.

7.1.2 Poverty Management and Service Hub in Taipei

The second research question guiding this thesis asked how homeless services are provided by Taiwan's state and the voluntary sector, and what punitive and supportive characteristics they exhibit. The empirical findings in Chapter 5 have demonstrated why the two clusters of voluntary organisations (e.g., service hubs) in Taipei distrust the local state for providing homeless services and are aware of the exhibited punitive and supportive characteristics of the services. In addition, the findings in Chapter 5 clearly show how the two service hubs are motivated by their distrust of the state to adjust their homeless services and intend to make the services supportive of their homeless care recipients. Also, the findings in Chapter 5 clearly explain how adjusted homeless services provided by the two service hubs are shaped by local contexts and eventually become contradictory to only partly supportive of their homeless care recipients.

The empirical findings in Chapter 5 demonstrate that the workers from one of the service hubs distrust the local state's provision of emergency accommodation to homeless people when public emergency accommodation is inadequate (e.g., insufficient beds and dirty rooms). This distrust motivates those within the service hub to develop and provide emergency accommodation in the hub, such as adequate beds and a clean environment. However, the hub's emergency accommodation is shaped by the local factor of employment-led homeless services, which requires that homeless care recipients have paid work and regular savings for self-reliance, generally within 12 months, while homeless people can extend the time to stay in the emergency accommodation if necessary. The findings have demonstrated the challenge of

homeless people being employed to be self-reliant in the short term. The findings also clearly show that the service hub occupies a difficult position of providing emergency accommodation when only a few homeless care recipients can meet their welfare needs through this accommodation service.

The empirical findings in Chapter 5 also demonstrate that staff within this service hub distrust the local state's provision of privately rented services to homeless people when the housing grant is insufficient, and the local state co-opts with the market to increase the rent in Taipei. The service hub provides its private rented services to its homeless care recipients. Indeed, the primary approach taken by the hub is to work with landlords who can provide affordable rent to the hub's homeless care recipients and tolerate them living in their apartments. However, landlords often increase their rent when care recipients receive a housing grant, as the local factor in shaping the hub's private rented services, which becomes contradictory. Based on the empirical findings in Chapter 5, the hub's private rented services would ask their homeless care recipients to work to pay the rent gap and other living costs. Also, the findings have demonstrated that the service hub hauls itself into a precarious position, where homeless support workers in the hub must be on call for their homeless care recipients, which usually causes the workers to have an imbalance between work and life.

On the other hand, the findings demonstrate that the staff in the second service hub, in the Zhongzheng district, distrust the state's provision of health services to homeless people under the procedures. The local state has enormous tolerance for homeless people, covering most of their health costs if they follow the guidelines to have health services, including requesting homeless support workers to accompany them to hospitals for health services and reimbursing the costs of the health services by following the reimbursement rules. Whilst homeless people may not trust homeless support workers to seek help for health services in Taipei, there is tension between the service hub and the state regarding health services provision. The service hub provides its health services to its homeless care recipients. The hub works with hospitals to bring medical specialists to provide health treatments on the streets. In doing so, some homeless care recipients receive health services without asking homeless support workers; the support workers collect their recipients' health cost receipts effectively for reimbursement. This finding is strong evidence that the local partnership between the voluntary sector and the state in Taiwan has tailored health services on the streets for homeless people instead of forcing them to leave their places for health treatments in hospitals. However, this finding demonstrates the hub's contradictory ethos; on the one hand, it provides health services for homeless people, and on the other, it intends to help its homeless care recipients contact their

families or seek suitable work for self-reliance instead of helping them move into emergency shelters, transitional housing, and long-term housing for social inclusion.

The empirical findings in Chapter 5 contribute to several concepts in the social geographies of homelessness by demonstrating the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services in Taipei provided by the voluntary sector and the local state. Firstly, it contributes to *the shadow state* (Jones & Royles, 2020; Wolch, 1990). In the Western context, the state employs neoliberal discourses (e.g., de-institutionalised welfare services provision with autonomy; personalised health and social care) to encourage the voluntary sector to participate in local governance and service-delivery decisions. Since then, a strong partnership between the state and the voluntary sector for welfare services provision has been built. However, in partnership with the state for welfare services provision, the voluntary sector often relies on public funding to provide services without sufficient governmental funding associated with austerity social policies. This is the shadow state in the Western context (DeVerteuil et al., 2002; Wolch, 1990). Based on my empirical findings, the shadow state exists in Taiwan, involving the collaboration of the state and the voluntary sector in the provision of welfare in the different contexts developed in East Asia. The findings demonstrate that the voluntary sector is encouraged by neoliberal discourses and Confucian discourses, such as helping marginalised groups contact their families to repair their kinship to meet individual welfare needs required by the legal duty of maintenance. In addition, the findings clearly show that the voluntary sector's welfare provision in the shadow state is shaped by the local factors of increasing public budgets on social welfare and increasing public donations, volunteers, and care workers for homeless support.

Secondly, the finding contributes to *revanchism* (Hennigan & Speer, 2019; Smith, 1996). In the Western context, revanchism refers to local states employing neoliberalism to co-opt capitalist investors to punish marginalised groups because they were not economically productive. Local states implemented policies for punishing marginalised groups, such as removing street homeless people and forcing them to escape to hidden places, including under bridges and in transportation and utility tunnels (Smith, 1996). However, my empirical findings demonstrate that the existence of revanchism in Taipei differs from the Western context, including removing street homeless people from communities to the public spaces of Bangka Park or Taipei Main station to stay overnight from 10 pm to 5 am daily. Moreover, the findings clearly show that the Taipei state employs Confucianism and neoliberalism to implement partly punitive homeless policies and services to treat homeless people, such as helping homeless people go back home

to meet their welfare needs provided by families, whilst the family members provide the needs mainly through market mechanisms.

Thirdly, the findings contribute to *poverty management* (Baker et al., 2020; DeVerteuil, 2003). In the Western context, poverty management refers to the social control of homeless people conducted by the state, co-opted with wealthy classes and property investors, to partly punish marginalised groups under neoliberalism, such as self-reliance for welfare demand, requiring marginalised groups to have job training, and be employed to receive governmental grants. Based on the empirical findings, poverty management in Taiwan differs from the West in that the social control of homeless people is under not only neoliberalism but also Confucianism (e.g., the duty of paying maintenance to family members for collective familial well-being). Indeed, this local context shapes the punitive and supportive characteristics of homeless services in Taiwan to make neoliberal welfare services always incomplete. Lastly, the findings contribute to a *service hub* (Dear et al., 1994; Evans et al., 2019). In the Western context, the interactions between community facilities, non-profit organisations, and homeless people are shaped by the arrangements in the Western welfare states, including the threat of neoliberalism and the Keynesian merit of collective welfare provision and consumption given by the state. However, the findings demonstrate that the two existing service hubs in Taipei are influenced by the arrangements in the Taiwan welfare state, involving the threat and the 'catalyst' of neoliberalism and the Confucian (contested) merit of familial welfare responsibility and collective familial well-being.

7.1.3 Individual Adversities and Hopes in Taiwan's Democracy

The third research question guiding this thesis asked How do the relational and spatial dynamics of community-based homeless support in Taiwan shape the variety of homeless service workers' motivations and hope for persevering in supporting homeless people? In Chapter 6, I provide many of Taiwan's voluntary-sector homeless support workers' life-course stories as empirical findings for answering this question. The findings demonstrate various individual motivations to explore why individuals in Taiwan become homeless support workers, on the one hand, and how multiple individuals' sense of hope influences the support workers to persevere in providing homeless support in the sector on the other. The various individual motivations, including different adversities (e.g., with a physical disability or experienced orphan childhood, child abuse, unemployment, or street homelessness), make individuals experience homelessness or first contact with homeless people as their turning point, motivating them to become homeless support workers. On the other hand, the empirical

findings in Chapter 6 demonstrate that the various individual motivations also include self-fulfilment to alleviate urban poverty and choosing to deal with street homelessness as visible poverty in public spaces.

Based on the empirical findings in Chapter 6, the voluntary sector's motivations of adversity and self-fulfilment to become homeless support workers are strongly intertwined with multiple individual hopes to pursue homeless support in Taiwan's democracy, in which the democracy has decriminalised homeless people and deinstitutionalised homeless services to the voluntary sector to reshape the landscape of homelessness and have a new appearance to the voluntary sector. On the one hand, the findings demonstrate that the voluntary sector's support workers feel hopeful for increased public donations, volunteers, and homeless support workers in this reshaped landscape of homelessness for pursuing their work. On the other hand, the findings clearly show that the voluntary sector's support workers are also influenced by their hopeless feelings for such a pursuit, associated with their overloaded and long work hours. However, the findings further demonstrate that many voluntary sector support workers' hopeful and hopeless feelings adhere to their positive imaginings of Western or other East Asian welfare states, compelling them to persevere.

The empirical findings in Chapter 6 contribute to *resilience* (DeVerteuil, 2015; Evans et al., 2019) and hopeful *adaptation* (Power et al., 2019). First, the findings clearly show that the voluntary sector within cities in Taiwan adapted its approach to providing care services to the institutional resilience of the organisations, on the one hand, and the personal resilience of precarious homeless support, on the other. Institutional and personal resilience in Taiwan involves the residual arrangements involving the everyday experiences of the voluntary sector's homeless support workers, which are mainly influenced by the Confucian merit of the duty of giving maintenance to family members for collective familial well-being instead of the (Western) Keynesian merit of collective welfare provision and consumption conducted by the state. The empirical findings challenge the resilience theory (DeVerteuil, 2015), which has mainly been developed and understood in the Western context. The findings also contribute to resilience by demonstrating homeless support workers' everyday experiences in Taiwan, including their beliefs, behaviours, and emotions.

Second, the empirical findings on the homeless support workers' everyday experiences in Taiwan help frame the framework of hopeful adaptation (Power et al., 2019) in East Asia. The contribution involves demonstrating the various motivations of homeless support workers, including the interplay of several individual adversities and different rewards for conducting homeless support. In addition, it involves demonstrating the different interplays of the support

workers' hope and hopelessness in Taiwan. Also, it involves demonstrating the complex relationships between the support workers' motivations, their hope coupled with hopelessness, and their approaches to persevering in homeless support in Taiwan to answer the research question mentioned above: How do the relational and spatial dynamics of community-based homeless support in Taiwan shape the variety of homeless service workers' motivations and hope for persevering in supporting homeless people? Hope in resilience is often non-linear, but it is also ambivalent and seemingly incongruous in how it can manifest (Power et al., 2019). In Taiwan's context, hopeful adaptation is shaped by the East Asian spatial dynamics of the fusion of Confucianism, which involves the homeless support workers' hope coupled with their hopelessness based on Western democratic ideals mixed with Confucian aspirations.

7.2 Limitations and Further Research

While conducting this research, I encountered four research limitations. The first and most significant limitation of this thesis is that I have not interviewed one homeless person. This inevitably limits the exploration of homeless people's everyday experiences shaped by the alternative ideology in Taiwan's homelessness landscape, based on neoliberalism and Confucian notions. However, this thesis focuses on how the alternative ideology influenced voluntary-sector agencies and homeless service workers to continue care work in precarious conditions, building on existing literature that has explored the experiences of homeless people. This focus helps to explore the complex partnership between Taiwan's voluntary sector and the state in providing support for homeless individuals, while *alternative* homelessness landscapes (Cloke et al., 2010; DeVerteuil et al., 2009) and *post-revanchist cities* (DeVerteuil, 2019) are understudied in most East Asian countries, including Taiwan. In other words, understanding voluntary-sector agents' everyday practices for co-production of homeless services with recipients is perhaps the most effective way to examine the complex partnership and contribute to emerging East Asian urban studies.

Second, I cannot obtain enough literature and secondary data on the historical context of homelessness in Taiwan from 1950 to 1991 to fully understand the development of Taiwan's homeless services in autocracy (1949 to 1991). For example, most literature and secondary data usually mention that homeless services were institutionalised, mainly provided by the state, and supported by the voluntary sector in the autocracy of Taiwan (Huang, 2022; Li, 2016; Lin, 2012). However, the literature and the data barely mention the details of homeless services provided by the voluntary sector in Taiwan during the period. Due to this knowledge gap, I cannot comprehensively understand the change in the voluntary sector's attitudes towards the

state for homeless service provision from 1949 to the present. Third, due to the limited time and budget of conducting fieldwork, on the one hand, and the research themes mainly focus on homelessness within cities on the other. I have not collected enough data to explore homelessness in rural areas in Taiwan.

Last, because of the limited time for conducting fieldwork, I have not collected enough empirical data to explore the complex relationships between the state and the voluntary sector's homeless support, the opposition by residents under Not-In-My-Back-Yard (NIMBYism), and the conventional local governance of the village-neighbour system (鄰里制度). The village-neighbour system (鄰里制度) in Taiwan was introduced during the governance of the Ching dynasty (1644-1912) and derived from the Chinese governance of the Baojia system (保甲制度) invented in Zhou dynasty (1046 BC- 256 BC) (Chiu, 2007). The village-neighbour system in Taiwan involves military-style management. Each community has an elected chief of the village (里長) and the above ten chiefs of the neighbours (鄰長), who are appointed by the elected chief for community governance (Yao, 2008). There are over 450 chiefs of the villages and over 9,600 of the neighbours only in Taipei's communities (Taipei City Government, 2023a). These communities' chiefs must help residents meet their welfare demands. When the stigma against homeless people has influenced communities, residents would ask their community chiefs to work with police to remove homeless people and resist social infrastructures for homeless people being built in the community (Huang, 2021a). This phenomenon of NIMBYism against homeless people in Taiwan is possibly shaped by the East Asian spatial dynamics of the fusion of Confucianism to make community residents have ambivalent attitudes toward homeless people. For instance, some community residents have changed their negative attitudes toward homeless people once they realise homeless people are doing paid work for self-reliance when they cannot meet their welfare needs from their families (Li, 2016). Then, the community residents changed their positions from the ones who remove homeless people from a community to the ones who send charitable donations to them. In other words, residents in Taiwan can be a significant factor in enlarging the voluntary sector to negotiate with the state for more supportive homeless services if the stigma and the village-neighbour system do not influence them to ask the state to punish homeless people.

I was the outsider in the public sector in Taipei to collect enough empirical data to explore the complex relationships between the interplay between the voluntary sector and the state in the village-neighbour system. After building good connections with some managers and homeless support workers in public institutions as participants in my research, I intend to develop my future research on such complex relationships to explore NIMBYism in Taiwan to further

comprehend the relationships between Taiwan's shadow state and homelessness in the fusion of Confucianism. Also, I planned to examine the complexity of homelessness in the Chinese-speaking global cities (i.e., Hong Kong, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Beijing) after exploring the landscape of homelessness in Taiwan. When the Chinese governance of the Baojia system exists in these Chinese cities with different characteristics, the fusion of Confucianism and the framework of geographies of homelessness can be employed in these cities for exploration. My empirical evidence on the landscape of homelessness in Taiwan can be symbolic as the dispersive prism to help disperse the lights of homeless characteristics in other Chinese-speaking global cities.

Alongside this, after conceptualising Taipei as a post-revanchist city with supportive characteristics of homeless services, it helps to use Taipei as a valuable comparative case to explore further the complexities of other East Asian global cities. First, the supportive characteristics of homeless services in Taipei are unique to Western global cities but perhaps familiar to other East Asian ones. This is because Confucian notions of mutual family support, filial piety, and maintenance legislation have significantly influenced the supportive characteristics in Taipei advocated by the voluntary sector, whereas these notions are barely present in North America and Western Europe. By contrast, Confucian notions are pervasive in East Asia, with some differences in familiarity with other East Asian global cities (Park et al., 2012; Walker & Wong, 2005). Second, this familiarity with Confucian notions in East Asian global cities will aid in further exploring the complexities of homelessness landscapes in these cities. I present the original findings on how Confucian notions have merged with neoliberal ones as the primary factors complicating homelessness under the moral principles of mutual family support and the legal duty of maintenance in Taiwan. The empirical and cultural findings on homelessness in Taipei help to explore the complexities of homelessness in other East Asian global cities through comparative analysis.

Finally, the complex relationships between the shadow state, community-based homeless services, and service hubs in other East Asian global cities can be further examined by comparing Taipei's homeless case following this study, as there are urgent gaps. The geographical literature on East Asian welfare states refers to them as being beyond the Western spatial dynamics of roll-out and back neoliberalism (Park et al., 2012; Toshio et al., 2023). However, the literature pays less attention to the characteristics of East Asian homeless services, which may be shaped by the influential ideology of Confucianism combined with neoliberal heterogeneity in global cities beyond Taipei, such as Shanghai, Seoul, Tokyo, and Singapore. These gaps in the cities are important because homeless services based on Western

liberal ideas may be ineffective in meeting the needs of homeless people in East Asia, if East Asian voluntary sectors overlook the importance of the Confucian notion of mutual family support as a possible cultural foundation for homeless service provision. When this cultural foundation is the 'leitmotif' in Taiwan's voluntary sector, it reshapes Western (neo)liberal notions to provide alternative homeless services. It may also be a leitmotif in another voluntary sector in an East Asian advanced economy, where Confucian philosophy responds to the catalyst of neoliberal notions within the voluntary sector, shaping the spatiality to create alternative co-productions of homeless services and aiming for better service outcomes.

In short, I provide a more accurate description of East Asian spatial dynamics as the fusion of Confucianism and neoliberalism, based on Taiwan's experience, which can be further examined in other advanced East Asian economies. This theoretical framework enables a comparison of the Taipei case with other East Asian global cities, further exploring the cultural factors that shape these cities and the complex configuration of welfare states, including the voluntary sectors and the internal spaces within these sectors for providing alternative homeless services.

7.3 Final Thoughts

I want to reiterate the context in which this thesis is situated. Homelessness is a global challenge that is possibly worsened by economic inequalities involving the popularity of property investment, sharply increased housing prices, and insufficient affordable homes on the world scale. The UN-Habitat (UN-Habitat, 2024) estimates that by 2030, 3 billion people, about 40 per cent of the world's population, will need access to adequate housing. Alleviation of homelessness is possible but difficult because local contexts shape homeless issues and become complicated. The voluntary sector is crucial in negotiating with the state and alleviating homelessness for change. However, as we saw in the East Asian context, the voluntary sector itself is influenced by neoliberalism in the local partnership with the state. This creates some ambivalent attitudes toward punitive homeless policies and services. The complex interplay between the voluntary sector and the state must be examined to understand the possibility of making changes to alleviate homelessness. The emerging East Asian literature on the geographies of homelessness is promising to explore, as it reveals the complex interplay between the voluntary sector and the state for providing homeless services. The emerging literature also hopes to understand the possibility of reworking social policies to alleviate homelessness in East Asian countries by delivering more supportive and resilient homeless services.

Appendix A : Interview Guides

A.1 Guide for Homeless Support Workers and Managers

Social entrepreneurship and precariousness		
No	In English	In Mandarin
1.	What is your job now? What are the works you're doing?	您現在的工作是？工作內容為何？
2.	Why did you become a homeless-support worker?	方便詢問，你為何會想從事有關幫助遊民的工作呢？
3.	Do you feel happy about your life so far?	喜歡你目前的生活嗎？
4.	How do you manage your work-life balance?	是否有在工作與休閒兩者間找到平衡呢？
5.	How about your plan for homeless support down the road?	方便知道你對於遊民服務的未來工作規劃？
Networking		
6.	Where are the places for doing work every weekday?	哪些場所，會是你每天的工作地點？
7.	Do you have any government funding for homeless support?	你們單位是有獲得政府的資金支持？
8.	Does your organisation have collaborations with other organisations in the public, the private, or the voluntary sector?	請問你的機構有和其他的公部門、私人企業和非營利組織一同合作提供遊民服務嗎？
9.	How about the relationship with elected representatives	服務項目是否有與里長協作？
Pandemic		
10.	How about the COVID-19 pandemic, what are the changed services	想聊聊關於新冠肺炎的話題，有沒有哪些遊民服務，因為新冠肺炎而改

	caused by the pandemic? What are the non-changed services?	變？有沒有哪些服務，是沒有改變的？
Perspective		
11.	How do you define 'homelessness'?	Homeless or Homelessness 一詞，你大概聽過，請問你會如何解讀這個英文單字呢？
12.	Some documents point out there is a strong stigma of laziness and filth to people experiencing homelessness, do you think this is true? Do you think this stigma can be changed?	一些文獻指出，遊民被貼上的「懶惰」污名化標籤，你覺得是這樣嗎？如果有污名化的現象，有沒有改變的可能？如何改變？
13.	Some documents have examined the homeless support in Taipei based on Confucian familism. Can you provide your opinions on this?	部分文獻指出，臺北的遊民服務，基本上被儒家式的家庭主義深深影響，請問你怎麼看呢？
14.	Many high-income countries have changed the attitude of homeless support to 'the housing-first approach'. However, Taiwan is based on the idea of 'wandering' (e.g., vagrancy). Can you give your opinions on this?	許多已開發國家，已朝向「住房優先」的模式，進行政策修訂，來提供遊民服務，請問臺灣的遊民政策與服務模式為何？
15.	What do you think of homeless people? Do you think people becoming homeless is an 'individual' problem or/and a 'social' problem?	請問您對遊民的認知，覺得變成遊民是個人造成的問題？還是社會造成的問題？兩者都是/不是？
16.	Any positive/negative perspectives on homelessness services provision in the future?	關於遊民服務的展望，請問你對未來的遊民服務，擁有何種態度與看法？是樂觀或負面？還是兩者都有？
17.	What are your opinions about housing in Taipei? Do you think the housing market is friendly to	想聽聽你對於臺北找房與遊民之間的看法。你認為臺北的租屋市場，對無家者友善嗎？為何？臺北市的社會住
	homeless people? why is that? How about social housing in Taipei? Is it helpful to homeless people? How is that?	宅，對無家者友善嗎？為何？是否有改善的可能？

A.2 Guide for the Policymaker

Policy		
No	In English	In Mandarin
1.	Housing First is a growing interest in the Global North including the US, UK, and some Nordic countries. If the Taiwanese government plans to adopt this type of homeless service as a Global trend, what are the potential challenges that would be encountered?	關於遊民服務，美國、英國與北歐國家的無家者服務，已漸進朝向「住房優先 (Housing First)」的模式，如果臺灣的遊民服務要跟上這世界趨勢，請問會面臨到哪些挑戰？
2.	In Taipei, having affordable private renting for homeless people is an enormous challenge due to the incomplete private renting market. Some policymakers put effort into the completion of the legislation on the private renting market. What are the potential challenges for policymakers to the formulation or amendment of legislation?	台北的遊民社工在協助遊民租房時，經常被不友善的租屋市場(例：過高的房租、房東不租給無家者)給阻礙，部分政策制定者們，致力改善台北的租屋市場，但修法過程中勢必會不順遂且遭遇挑戰，請問通常會遭遇到那些挑戰？
3.	In the US, UK, and some Nordic countries, moving into social housing normally is the last phase of homeless service for helping clients to be socially included. However, the number of social housings in Taipei is very low and the housings are enormously insufficient for homeless people to stay. If policymaker plans to increase the number of social housing by implementing legislation, what are the potential difficulty that would be faced?	美國、英國與諸多北歐國家，在協助無家者脫遊的過程中，住進「社會住宅」是脫遊的終點站，通常是一個西方國家主流的做法，但台灣的社會住宅量過低，無法跟進，請問如果要增加臺灣的社會住宅量，在制定政策或修法時，會遭遇到那些挑戰？

4.	In Taiwan, homeless charities are conducting initiatives for the amendment of the Public Assistance Act. Particularly, the law of 'support obligations to parents'; of 'benefit must from the civic registered local government' is outdated. What are the potential challenges for policymakers to amend the Public Assistance Act?	目前有社福團體正在進行「社會救助法」(簡稱社助法) 的修法倡議，現有社助法的「扶養義務」、「申請補助不需綁定戶籍地」，被遊民社工評估為不適用，因此正在進行修法。請問，根據您的專業經驗，修法過程中會面臨到哪些挑戰？
5.	In the UK, there are two types of long-term benefits for homeless people including a low-income grant and a housing benefit. In Taiwan, however, there is not long-term benefit for housing benefit. Does there is a possibility to have the housing benefit by implementing legislation?	關於無家者的弱勢補助款，英國有兩筆「低收入戶補助」、「租房補助」的補助款，臺灣僅有低收入戶補助，缺乏長期性的租房補助，請問未來有沒有機會，透過立法來增加弱勢群體的租房補助？
6.	According to academic papers, social workers in Taipei conduct precarious employment (e.g. long-hours work). What are the factors to make this phenomenon happen? What are the challenges to improving their working conditions by legislation?	部分文獻指出，臺北市的社工們，通常會有工時過長的問題，請問主要的原因為何？如果擴編來增加社會局的社工人數，勢必會遭遇挑戰，請問潛在的挑戰為何？

A.3 Consent Form

Study Title: Homeless-support workers' everyday practices in Taipei: Exploring individual experiences shaped by the intersection of spatial inequality.

Researcher: Hao-Che Pei

ERGO number: 79126

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

Statement	Initials
I have read and understood the information sheet (14/12/2022 /Version 1) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.	
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw (at any time during the interview discussion) for any reason without my participation rights being affected. Once the recording has been transcribed and deleted, you will no longer be able to withdraw your responses.	
I understand that I may be quoted directly in reports of the research but that I will not be directly identified (i.e. my name and the community's name will not be used).	
I understand that taking part in the study involves audio recording, which will be transcribed and then destroyed, for the purposes set out in the participation information sheet.	
I understand that my personal information collected about me such as my name or where I live will not be shared beyond the study team.	

Name of participant (print name)……

Signature of participant (or ID code for voice recording)……

Date…… ……

Name of researcher: Hao-Che Pei

Signature of researcher: 

Date: ……

A.4 Research Project

博士論文研究計畫書

PhD Research Project

裴浩哲 (Hao-Che Pei)

H-C.Pei@soton.ac.uk

研究目的

我的博士論文以遊民[1]的「幫助者」為主軸（包含：遊民社工、社會事業家、基金會/協會工作人員），探究幫助者們的日常實踐（例如：例行公事、對於遊民以及遊民政策的看法）。此外，本研究亦探討「協助遊民機構」之間的協作，例：遊民業務相關之公部門、非營利部門、企業之間的互動關係。

研究場域與研究機構

本研究主要的研究區域，將會是臺北市的五個行政區：萬華、中正、大同、中山、南港。本研究將會進行 60 場半結構式訪談，訪談對象主要為公部門與非營利部門之前線工作人員（例：社會工作者）與單位主管（例如：主任、理事、監事、秘書長.....等等）。

研究貢獻

我的研究將會透過經驗證據（例如：訪談資料、田野筆記），補足全球新冠肺炎之後，臺北遊民地景與服務的知識缺口，讓臺灣的遊民研究，得以透過英文論文的形式，與西方學界交流，以此強化臺灣貧窮研究與全球的連結，並透過與歐陸學者的學術討論，了解並探究改善臺北遊民處境的潛在良方。

我的所有的訪談題目，都必須遵守英國南安普敦大學嚴格的學術倫理規範，相關規範如下：

- 必須請受訪人簽署完訪談同意書後，才能進行大約一小時的訪談。
- 避免詢問過於敏感的話題，導致受訪者產生不必要的負面情緒。
- 如果受訪者要求終止訪談，訪談必須立刻停止。

訪談大綱

關於訪談語言，我具備雙語的訪談能力（中文、英文），因此受訪者可以要求我，以中文或英文的方式進行訪談。我的博士論文將以英文撰寫與呈現，因此，如果是中文訪談，我會自行翻譯成英文來進行學術呈現，避免第三方翻譯在不熟悉地方脈絡的情況下，產生錯誤的解讀與譯著。

[1] 英文「Homeless people」一詞，在臺灣中文脈絡下，有諸多不同的翻譯，例如：無家者、遊民、街友、寒士、流浪漢.....等等。本研究計畫選擇官方名稱「遊民」作為 Homeless people 的中文翻譯。

Appendix B : Interview Participants

Pseudonym	Affiliation	Occupation	Gender	Experienced Hidden homelessness	Experienced Street homelessness	Education degree
F-WI1	Public institution	Care worker	Male	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI2	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI3	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI4	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI5	Homeless charity	Care worker	Male	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI6	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI7	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	**Yes**	No	Bachelor
F-WI8	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI9	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI10	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI11	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor

F-WI12	Public institution	Care worker	Male	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI13	Public institution	Care worker	Male	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI14	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI15	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI16	Social Enterprise	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI17	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI18	Social Enterprise	Care worker	Female	No	No	Master
F-WI19	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI20	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI21	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	High school
F-WI22	Homeless charity	Care worker	Male	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI23	Social Enterprise	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor

F-WI24	Social Enterprise	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI25	Homeless charity	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI26	Public institution	Care worker	Male	No	No	Master
F-WI27	Homeless charity	Care worker	Male	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI28	Public institution	Care worker	Male	**Yes**	No	Bachelor
F-WI29	Homeless charity	Care worker	Male	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI30	Public institution	Care worker	Female	No	No	Master
F-WI31	Public institution	Care worker	Female	No	No	Bachelor
F-WI32	Homeless charity	Care worker	Male	No	No	Master
F-WI33	Social Enterprise	Care worker	Male	No	No	Bachelor
MI1	Social Enterprise	Manager	Male	No	No	Master
MI2	Social Enterprise	Manager	Female	No	No	Bachelor

MI3	Homeless charity	Manager	Female	No	No	Bachelor
MI4	Homeless charity	Manager	Male	**Yes**	No	High school
MI5	Homeless charity	Manager	Female	No	No	Bachelor
MI6	Homeless charity	Manager	Female	No	No	Bachelor
MI7	Social Enterprise	Manager	Male	No	No	Bachelor
MI8	Homeless charity	Manager	Male	No	No	Unknown
MI9	Homeless charity	Manager	Female	No	No	Bachelor
MI10	Public institution	Manager	Male	No	No	Unknown
MI11	Social Enterprise	Manager	Female	No	No	Bachelor
MI12	Public institution	Manager	Male	No	No	Bachelor
MI13	Social Enterprise	Manager	Female	**Yes**	No	Bachelor
MI14	Public institution	Manager	Female	No	No	Master

MI15	Homeless charity	Manager	Male	No	No	Bachelor
MI16	Homeless charity	Manager	Male	Yes	No	Bachelor
MI17	Homeless charity	Manager	Male	**Yes**	**Yes**	Unknown
MI18	Homeless charity	Manager	Female	No	No	Bachelor
MI19	Homeless charity	Manager	Male	No	No	Bachelor
MI20	Social Enterprise	Manager	Male	No	No	Bachelor
MI21	Homeless charity	Manager	Male	No	No	Unknown
PMI1	Local council	Policymaker	Female	No	No	Master

Appendix C : Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

研究參與說明表

Study Title: Homeless-support workers' everyday practices in Taipei: Exploring individual experiences shaped by the intersection of spatial inequality.

研究題目：協助臺北無家者的日常：探究實業家們的個人經驗，如何交織於混沌的不均衡發展空間，不斷重塑與再造。

Researcher: Hao-Che Pei

研究者：裴浩哲

ERGO number: 79126

ERGO 號碼: 79126

You are invited to take part in the above research study. To help you decide whether you would like to take part or not, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the information below carefully and ask questions if anything is not clear or if you would like more information before you decide to take part in this research. You may like to discuss it with others, but it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

您已被邀請參加本次研究。 為了了解您的參與意願，在此說明研究內容細項。 請詳閱以下資訊，若有不清楚之處，歡迎提問。亦歡迎與他人討論活動參與，若您願意參加，將需完成一份參與同意書。

What is the research about?

這研究在做什麼？

This research is postgraduate research for me being awarded a PhD's degree. I am an international PhD student conducting an urban study on care workers' everyday practices within the homeless sector in Taipei. My research is fully sponsored by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan.

我是一位通過國家考試，由臺灣教育部所資助的留學英國博士生。博士研究室有關於，臺北實業家如何協助無家者重返社會，研究經費由教育部全額資助。

My research questions draw on the relationship between homeless-support workers and the welfare system to explore how to improve homelessness. For example, what are those workers do every week? How do they use the welfare system to give support to homeless people?

關於我的博士論文題目，主要是探討該實業家們與社會福利制度之間的關係，例如：事業家們的日常為何？如何在臺灣透過個人與制度的互動，協助無家者重返社會？

Why have I been asked to participate?

為何我會獲邀參與此研究？

Whilst my research draws on homeless-support workers' everyday practices, working experiences from the participants of workers in the homeless sector are valuable for my interview or/ and participant observation data collection. I will invite 60 participants to voluntarily carry out interviews.

如上所述，我的研究主要是探討無家者服務中，實業家們的日常工作實踐。您的參與將會對本研究產生極大的貢獻，我將會邀請 60 位受訪者進行自願參與。

What will happen to me if I take part?

如果我選擇參加，將會要做什麼？

This research uses two qualitative methods consisting of semi-structured interviews (in-person and online) and participant observation (physical and online). The interview participants are comprised of homeless-support workers and government officials. They will be interviewed based on my interview guides for exploring their opinions on homeless support in Taipei.

兩種質性研究方法將會被使用：1. (實體和線上的) 半結構式訪談、2. (實體和線上的) 參與式觀察。受訪對象如下：1. 無家者服務中的服務提供者、該服務中的公部門官員。所有的訪談問題，將會基於訪談大綱的問題集進行訪談。

In terms of time, each interview participant would spend 45 to 90 minutes for one interview with me. Some interview participants may be invited to have a second interview for more data collection. Commercial spaces (e.g., coffee shops, and offices) will be the locations for in-person interviews. Virtual-meeting platforms (i.e., Microsoft Team, Google meet, Skype, Zoom) will be the places for online interviews.

關於時長，受訪者將會進行 45 至 90 分鐘的訪談，若需要的話中間將會有數分鐘的休息。部分受訪者，將會被邀請二次訪談，以利於本研究更深入的探究事業家日常的樣貌。商業空間（例如，咖啡店和辦公室）將成為實體訪談的地點。虛擬會議平台（即 Microsoft Team、Google meet、Skype、Zoom）將成為線上訪談的地方。

The observation participants involve homeless-support workers, government officials, volunteers, and clients. In the observation, they will be expected to carry out their common daily practices for my data collection (e.g., field notes). I will take around two hours to have the physical observation in public spaces (e.g., streets, train stations, parks) or social infrastructures (i.e., soup kitchens, homeless shelters, outreach centres); about two hours for online observation on virtual-meeting platforms (i.e., Microsoft Team, Google meet, Skype, Zoom). I would contact some homeless charities for having more observations (twice or three times) if it is necessary.

參與觀察的部分，參與者包含：無家者服務中的實業家、公部門人員、志工、無家者。過程中，我將以田野筆記的方式，記錄參與過程中的各項互動。我將前往公共場合進行觀察，例如：街道、火車站、公園，以及無家者協助措施，像是：正餐發放處、收容所、外展中心。線上參與觀察的部分，將會參與無家者社福機構的例行會議，了解幹部們的想法與組織決策。將會選定二至五個機構，進行數十小時的參與觀察。

The time of the interviews and the observations are reasonable to avoid participants' discomfort. All participants have the right to withdraw from the interview or the participant observation process. My six-month research project will be carried out from 1st March to 31st August 2023.

訪談或參與觀察的研究時間，基本上以合理時長為原則。每位參與者，在參與的過程中，皆有完全的權力，退出上述其一的研究。我的田野調查時間，將會從 2023 年 3 月 1 日，進行至同年 8 月 31 日。

After the informed consent from participants, I will use audio recording (e.g., recorders and smartphones) in the in-person interviews and have video recording during the online interviews. Alongside this, I will have an audio recording of physical observation if some participants are needed to provide oral consent. Once recordings have been transcribed, the recordings will be deleted, which is applied to both recordings of interviews and participant observation.

我的所有田野研究，必須在參與者同意後，才能進行資料蒐集。實體訪談中，我將使用錄音筆、智慧型手機進行錄音，線上訪談的部分，將會錄製會議影音檔。此外，口頭同意的部分，若有必要，實體參與觀察將會錄製口頭同意。一旦錄音檔謄錄為逐字稿後，所有錄影、錄音檔，將會全部刪除。

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

若選擇參加此研究，對我有何益處？

Interview participants will make academic benefits on the nuance of the current understanding of homelessness in Taipei during the post-pandemic period. Also, each participant would have some tea or tea bags bought from Britain as a reward.

參與者的貢獻卓越，尤其是在後新冠時代，使研究員了解臺北無家者服務的全貌。參與獎勵的部分，每位受訪者，將有權利獲得一些英國的高級茶包，作為訪談獎勵。

Are there any risks involved?

是否有什麼風險？

My research has no invasive technique to involve risk. It is acknowledged that there is a low-physical risk of travelling injury by public transport, driving, or walking in Taipei the capital city. I will inform the risk assessment to each participant a few days before interviews started.

我的研究不包含任何人體醫療實驗，因此沒有人何有害的物理風險。我必須承認，即使臺北市一個相當安全的國際之都，仍舊有非常的交通風險。為了預防，我會在訪談開始前的數日前，通知受訪者潛在的通勤風險。

As this research explores workers' everyday practices, it is acknowledged that some topics could be sensitive for some individuals. Participants could be discomfort if they discuss the periods of care work that might arise some emotions from long hours working. To minimise the risk, participants will be reminded that they can withdraw from the interview discussion at any time. I as the researcher will ensure I am aware if my questions produce signs of discomfort.

關於訪談，由於訪談內容會提及事業家例行工作，某些敏感的話題，可能使受訪者產生些微負面的情緒。如果受訪者在訪談過程中感到任何不適，將有完全的權力，終止訪談。而我，身為訪談人，會時時刻刻觀察受訪者的情緒變化，以確保受訪者在過程中不會感到不適。

What data will be collected?

這研究將會收集哪些資料？

I will collect qualitative data on personal opinions of homeless support in Taipei including gender, and age identity during the interview process. No personal data will be collected in participant observation. Participant details will be stored on the university's laptop with password protection within an encrypted file. The audio recordings and transcripts will be stored in the same way. The participant details will be destroyed once the research has been completed.

從訪談獲得的資訊，必定包含一些受訪者的個人想法，例如性別認同、年齡認同。參與觀察將不會有以上的個人主觀見解。所有訊息將會儲存在英國南安普敦的筆記型電腦中，並且會以加密文件的方式，用密碼鎖住所有的田野資料。一旦我的研究完成後，所有參與者的訊息將會被全數銷毀。

Will my participation be confidential?

我的參與是否會列為機密？

Your participation and the information we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential.

任何您在研究參與過程中所提供的資訊，將會被嚴格的加密保管。

Only members of the research team and responsible members of the University of Southampton may be given access to data about you for monitoring purposes and/or to carry out an audit of the study to ensure that the research is complying with applicable regulations. Individuals from regulatory authorities (people who check that we are carrying out the study

correctly) may require access to your data. All of these people have to keep your information, as a research participant, strictly confidential.

所有在田野調查所收集的資料，僅有英國南安普敦大學所授權的負責人，可以擁有調閱資料的權限。此研究將會完全的符合此大學所訂定的學術規範。若監管機關應正當理由，欲調閱此研究的資料，它們將會在完全合法的情況下，確保參與者個資不會外洩的條件下，進行調閱。

The interview recordings will be destroyed once they are written up. You are not obliged to talk about anything you do not wish to. Your name will not be included in any written reports. Information combining different characteristics which would allow for you to be identified will not be presented. Your community's name will also not be recorded in any written material.

在訪談錄音檔銷毀後，您將無法否定先前所述的內容。您的名字不會以文字的方式出現在任何文章上，已確保所有受訪者的匿名性。匿名的代稱，將會去脈絡化處理，意思是您的個人身份、居住地、服務社群名稱將不會直接記錄在任何書面記載中。

Do I have to take part?

我一定要參加這項研究嗎？

No, it is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide you want to take part in interviews, you will need to sign a consent form to show you have agreed to take part.

你沒有義務要參與這項研究，完全按照您的意願，同意或不同意本研究的參與。若有幸邀請你參加進行訪談，您則需簽署一份由英國南安普敦大學所擬定的同意書。

All participants only participate in the research after informed consent. The researcher will provide informed consent in Mandarin for the participant's signature. Oral consent will be recorded by recorders or smartphones if it is needed.

所有的研究，必須在受訪者知情且同意後，才能進行。英國研究說明書的部份， 將會由本人（裴浩哲）進行專業翻譯，提供中文的同意書給受訪者檢視。若有需要，我將會智慧型手機錄下參與者的口頭同意。

What happens if I change my mind?

如果我中途改變主意呢？

You have the right to change your mind and withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without your participant rights *(or routine care if a patient)* is affected.

您有權隨時改變主意和退出，而無需給出理由，並且您的參與者權利（或患者的常規護理）不會受到影響。

Participants' right to withdraw from the interview or the participant observation process has been written and justified on the participant consent form and information sheet. Indeed, these two documents have indicated that each participant has the right to withdraw from each research process without penalty and without the need to justify it. They will either read this themselves or have it read to them via me. Participants will also be reminded of their withdrawal right if they appear to be feeling any distress during the process.

參與者的退出權，已明確記載於研究說明書與同意書中。關於獲得資訊的途徑，一種是透過參與者自行閱讀，另一種則是透過研究員，以中文口述的方式，說明給受訪者聽。如果參與者在研究過程中感到任何不適，研究會提醒他們，在田野調查過程中，他們皆享有退出研究的權利。

However, once the interview recordings have been deleted, and anonymised, following transcription, the interview participants will not be able to withdraw from the research. A specific date has been given in the participation information sheet.

但是，一旦訪談錄音被刪除、匿名化、轉錄後，訪談參與者將無法退出研究。 本研究的進程已在上述提出說明。

If you withdraw from the study, we will keep the information about you that we have already obtained for the purpose of achieving the objectives of the study only.

如果您退出研究，我們將保留我們已經獲得的關於您的資訊，僅用於完成本研究。

What will happen to the results of the research?

獲得資料後，後續的處理方式為何？

Your personal details will remain strictly confidential. Research findings made available in any reports or publications will not include information that can directly identify you without your specific consent.

您的個人資料將嚴格保密。 任何文章或出版物所示的研究結果將會完全匿名，以確保您的身份無法直接從文章中辨識。

This research will be written up and published. Interview participants will receive a digital copy of my PhD thesis if they ask. Participants' data will not be used for future studies.

這項研究將會被撰寫完成，並且公開。如果參與者有需要的話，他們將無償獲得我的論文電子檔。任何參與者的數據，將不會用於未來的研究。

Where can I get more information?

我可以從哪裡獲得更多的相關資訊？

Any participant can contact me through the email address below: H-C.Pei@soton.ac.uk

任何參與者得以透過我英國南安普敦的大學信箱，與我進行聯繫，信箱地址如下：H.C.Pei@soton.ac.uk

What happens if there is a problem?

如果發生問題怎麼辦？

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should speak to the researchers who will do their best to answer your questions. If you remain unhappy or have a complaint about any aspect of this study, please contact the University of Southampton Research Integrity and Governance Manager (023 8059 5058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk).

如果您對本研究的任何方面有疑慮，您得以與研究人員聯絡，其將盡力回答您的問題。 如果您對本研究的任何方面仍然不滿意或有任何投訴，請聯繫南安普頓大學研究誠信和治理經理（023 8059 5058，rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk）。

If participants have any problem related to this research, they can contact me through the email address below: H-C.Pei@soton.ac.uk

如果參與者對本研究有任何疑慮，得以透過此電子郵件與我聯繫：H-C.Pei@soton.ac.uk

Data Protection Privacy Notice

個人資料保護注意事項

The University of Southampton conducts research to the highest standards of research integrity. As a publicly-funded organisation, the University has to ensure that it is in the public interest when we use personally-identifiable information about people who have agreed to take part in the research. This means that when you agree to take part in a research study, we will use information about you in the ways needed, and for the purposes specified, to conduct and complete the research project. Under data protection law, 'Personal data' means any information that relates to and is capable of identifying a living individual. The University's data protection policy governing the use of personal data by the University can be found on its website (https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page).

英國南安普敦大學按照最高的科研誠信標准進行研究。 作為一個公共資助的組織，大學必將確保在我們使用同意參與研究的人的個人身份信息時符合公共利益。這意味著當您同意參加研究時，我們將以合法的方式並出於指定的目的使用有關您的信息來開展和完成研究項目。 根據數據保護法，"個人數據"意指與在世個人相關並能夠識別其身份的任何信息。 可在其網站(https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page) 上找到大學管理個人數據使用的數據保護政策).

This Participant Information Sheet tells you what data will be collected for this project and whether this includes any personal data. Please ask the research team if you have any questions or are unclear about what data is being collected about you.

本參與者資訊表，將會明確的告訴您此項目收集哪些數據，以及這是否包括任何個人數據。 如果您有任何疑問或不清楚正在收集您的哪些數據，請詢問研究團隊。

Our privacy notice for research participants provides more information on how the University of Southampton collects and uses your personal data when you take part in one of our research projects and can be found at http://www.southampton.ac.uk/assets/sharepoint/intranet/ls/Public/Research%20and%20Integrity%20Privacy%20Notice/Privacy%20Notice%20for%20Research%20Participants.pdf

我們的研究參與者隱私聲明，清楚的說明了一切相關的資訊，有關南安普頓大學在您參與我們的研究項目之一時，如何收集和使用您的個人數據的更多信息，詳閱 ：http://www.southampton.ac.uk/assets/sharepoint/intranet/ls/Public/Research%20and%20Integrity%20Privacy%20Notice/Privacy%20Notice%20for%20Research%20Participants.pdf

Any personal data we collect in this study will be used only for the purposes of carrying out our research and will be handled according to the University's policies in line with data protection law. If any personal data is used from which you can be identified directly, it will not be disclosed to anyone else without your consent unless the University of Southampton is required by law to disclose it.

我們在本研究中收集的任何個人資訊，將僅用於此研究，並將根據大學符合數據保護法的政策進行處理。 如果使用任何可以直接識別您身份的個人數據，除非法律要求南安普頓大學公開，否則未經您的同意不會向任何其他人展示。

Data protection law requires us to have a valid legal reason ('lawful basis') to process and use your Personal data. The lawful basis for processing personal information in this research study is for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest. Personal data collected for research will not be used for any other purpose.

數據保護法要求我們有正當的法律理由（"合法依據"），來處理和使用您的個人數據。 在本研究中處理個人資訊的合法依據，是為了執行為公共利益而執行的任務。為研究收集的個人資訊，將不會用於任何其他目的。

For the purposes of data protection law, the University of Southampton is the 'Data Controller' for this study, which means that we are responsible for looking after your information and using it properly. The University of Southampton will keep identifiable information about you for 10years after the study has finished after which time any link between you and your information will be removed.

出於數據保護法的目的，南安普頓大學是本研究的“數據控制者”，這意味著我們有責任保護並正確使用您的資訊。 南安普頓大學將在研究結束後將您的身份訊息保留 10 年，之後您與您的訊息之間的任何網路連結都將被刪除。

To safeguard your rights, we will use the minimum personal data necessary to achieve our research study objectives. Your data protection rights – such as to access, change, or transfer such information - may be limited, however, in order for the research output to be reliable and accurate. The University will not do anything with your personal data that you would not reasonably expect.

為了保護您的權益，我們將使用實現研究目標所需的最少個人數據。 但是，您的數據保護權利（例如訪問、更改或傳輸此類信息）可能會受到限制，以確保研究結果的可靠性和準確性。 大學不會對您的個人數據做任何非法的事情。

If you have any questions about how your personal data is used, or wish to exercise any of your rights, please consult the University's data protection webpage (https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page) where you can make a request using our online form. If you need further assistance, please contact the University's Data Protection Officer (data.protection@soton.ac.uk).

如果您對如何使用您的個人資訊有任何疑問，或希望行使您的任何權利，請查閱大學的數據保護網頁 (https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/ data-protection-and-foi.page），您可以在其中使用我們的線上表單中，提出請求。 如果您需要進一步的幫助，請聯繫大學的數據保護官 (data.protection@soton.ac.uk)。

This research follows the University data management policy to determine whether to keep data for no more than 10 years. No collaborator in this research. No third party will request access to participants' personal data. All research data will be pseudonymised. Data that has been pseudonymised through key coding and removal of personal identifiers still falls within the scope of the GDPR. This is because the data that allows identification of that person still exists, just not all in one place. Pseudonymised data can help reduce privacy risks by making it more difficult to identify individuals, but it is still personal data. If you are using pseudonymisation, i.e., linking data using a code, this should be explained with details on who can access the codes to enable an individual to be identified.

本研究遵循大學數據管理政策，以確定是否將數據保存不超過 10 年。 這項研究沒有指導教授以外的合著者。 任何第三方都不會請求訪問參與者的個人資訊。 所有研究數據都將使用匿名。 通過密鑰編碼和刪除個人標識符進行匿名化的數據仍然屬於 GDPR 的範圍。 這是因為允許識別那個人的數據仍然存在，只是不在一個地方。 假名數據可以通過增加識別個人的難度來幫助降低隱私風險，但它仍然是個人數據。 然而，英國最高監管機構得以獲得權限，了解匿名者的相關資訊，以確保英國的教育機構，在完全符合學術倫理的情況下，進行學術研究。

Thank you.

謝謝

Thank the individual for taking the time to read the information sheet and considering taking part in the research.

感謝您花費寶貴時間，撥冗詳閱此研究相關資訊。

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